

THE
OCCASIONAL
HISTORIAN.

NUMB. IV.

BEING AN
HISTORICAL ESSAY

Upon, and in Defence of

English *Hereditary Right*.

DEDICATED to Both the
UNIVERSITIES.

By, Mr. E A R B E R T.

*I deal with the thing that is Lawful and
Right, O give me not over to mine Oppressors.*

PSALM CXIX.

L O N D O N:

Printed, and sold by *W. Wells*, Bookseller in *Oxford*,
J. Parker in *Pall-Mall*, *W. Pepper* in *Maiden Lane*,
Covent-Garden, *E. Nutt* at the *Royal Exchange*, and
by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*.
M D C C X X I I . Price 1 s. 6 d.

will bring your Pupils to my School, as ye all know, it is more proper to instruct the Head before the Heels.

They will find in this Antient Language the Notes swell with Loyalty, with every great and noble Sentiment of Virtue and Goodness I can't read *Turgotus* concerning *Edgar Atheling*, but I must needs prefer it to any Modern Language now in the World. I fancy my self transfer'd back to those times; and my Pulse beats a March for that unhappy Prince.

I am most concern'd, Gentlemen, that either University can bear the Adulterations of *Rapin*, who was so ignorant, or so malicious, as to give all our *English* History a wrong turn, to fill it with Lies, and to make the *Saxon* Age so barbarous, that neither Bishops nor Kings understood *Latin*. If You do not stand in the Gap, I may say, they understood the *Latin* the present Age is likely to lose.

You have, Gentlemen, my hearty Prayers to have no more occasion for Royal Visitations, Standing Armies, or any Attacks of Violence, to disturb or frighten the Muses away from our happy Abodes, who are

Your most Obedient, and

Most Devoted Servant,

I DE 60

M. E.

Table I.

Lawful Kings.

A.D.	
495.	Cerdicus.
539.	Cynricus.
560.	Ceawlinus.
685.	Cedwalla.
730.	Oswald Clito dy'd.
800.	Egbert.
836.	Æthelwulph.
854.	Æthelbald.
860.	Æthelbright.
866.	Æthered.
871.	Ælfridus.
901.	Edwardus.
925.	Æthelstan.
941.	Edmundus.
955.	Edwic.
957.	Eadgar.
975.	Eadwardus.
979.	Æthelred.
1016.	Eadmundus.
1057.	Edgar.

The Saxon Succession

First Line of Usurpers, from Cutha,
Brother to Ceawlinus.

591.	Ceolus	1.
587.	Ceolwulph	2.
611.	Cynegylfus	3.
643.	Cenwallus	4.
674.	Sexburga	5.
674.	Æschwinus	6.
676.	Centwinus	7.

Second Line of Usurpers from Ina,
descended from Ceawlinus.

688.	Ina.
728.	Æthelherd.
741.	Cuthred.
754.	Sigebert.
755.	Kenulph.
784.	Brithricus.

Third Usurpation.

946.	Eadred.
------	---------

Fourth Usurpation.

	Canutus.
1017.	Harold.
1036.	Hardicanute.
1039.	Edward the Confessor.
1041.	Harold.
1066.	William the Conqueror.

Table II.

A SCHEME of Cerdic's Family, to Egbert, in whom the Second
Usurpation was heal'd.Cerdicus.
Creoda—
Cynricus.
Ceawlinus.
Cutha.
Cada.—
Cynbertus.
Cedwalla.Of whom Bede says
de regio Genere
Geviforum, L 4.
c. 15.Cynebaldus.
Æthelbald.
Oswald Clito
dy'd 730.Ceolwaldus.
Cendredus
Ina.

Cynegylfus.

Ina—

Ingildus.
Eoppa.
Offa.
Eadmundus.
Egbert.

Table III.

The Usurping Race of Cuthuinus, Brother to Ceawlinus.

Cutha.	
1. Ceolus.	2. Ceolwulphus.
3. Cynegylfus.	Cenferthus.
4. Cenwallus.	Cenfusus.
5. Sexburga, uxor.	6. Æschwinus.
7. —Centwinus.	

The Reader has here exhibited before him at one View, the History of the whole
West Saxon Line.TABLE I. On the Left Hand is the true Hereditary Line from Cerdic.
The Column towards the Right, is the Usurping Line, like that of Cain, distinct from
Seth's.TABLE II. Shews the Hereditary Genealogy, from the depos'd Ceawlinus.
The Names written underneath, are all Sons in a successive Line: But this Mark—
betwixt two Names, and so on, from the Left to the Right, connects the Bre-
thren of that Stock.TABLE III. Points out the First Usurping Line, from Cuth, to the entire Extin-
ction of that Line. The Numbers prefix'd, shew, who were Kings or Queens de Fa-
cto, and in what Order they reign'd.

1 DE 60



THE
Occasional Historian.

NUMBER IV.

AN
Historical ESSAY, &c.



It is very proper to acquaint the Reader with the future Plan of this Design; which is to prove that the Crown of *England*, by immemorial Custom, ought to devolve to the next in Blood; unless the Supream Power intervenes to divert that Lineal Succession *.

* This is too deep for me to meddle with, as being much above my Genius and Understanding.

2 *The Occasional Historian.*

In opposition to this, Mr. *Craftsman* says, *Hereditary Right was a Fundamental Principle, on which King James affected to establish his Authority.*

In Answer to this, I assert, King *James* affected this Hereditary Right no more than his Ancestors perpetually affected the same, from *Maroboduus* to his time *. For Proof of this, I shall insist upon Facts; and if Mr. *Craftsman's* Eloquence, or his Sophistry can drive away Facts; I must confess his Republican Forces are too strong for me to break.

THE Notion of changing the Succession Legally in *England*, before *Henry VIII's* time, was a Topick of Speculation rather than Practice; because as the Princes for the most part, were of the Establish'd Religion, that Legal Power was never in Fact recurr'd to; and all the Breaches into the Line were open rebellions, for want of a Legal Sanction, which none of them in Fact had; unless we except the Devolution of the Crown to *Henry I.* of which I

* *Maroboduus*, King of the *Marcomanni*, from whom King *James I.* Lineally descended, and of whom *Tiberius* said in the Senate; *Non Philippum Atheniensibus, non Pyrrhum aut Anniochum populo Romano parandos fuisse: That Philip was not more formidable to the Athenians, nor Pyrrhus and Anniochus to the Roman People, than he was to them. See Tacitus, Ann. Lib. 2.* No Person in Europe was so good an Hereditary Gentleman, and a King, as King *James I.* was, and his Successors consequently were after Him.

shall

shall speak of in its proper time and place. To begin with the SAXON KINGS. I shall insist only upon the WEST SAXON Line; because in them, all Titles center'd, or where extinguished. *Cerdicus* establish'd that Monarchy first in *England*; his Extraction was very Princely before he came into *England*; and that coming was in the Fifth Century, of which Age we have the remains of no other Family now in *Europe*. He had the same Extraction with *Hengist* † from *Woden*, who seems to have been a mighty King over that People, of the same Name with that Idol, they chiefly worshipp'd as a God; from which we to this Day, retain the Name of *Wednesday*. The *Saxon Chronicle*, the most valuable piece of Antiquity we have publish'd in *England*, recounts ‡ Eight Generations betwixt *Cerdicus* and *Woden*; for which if we allow 200 Years, as *Cerdicus* came over, Anno 495,

† *Bede* gives us fewer Generations betwixt *Hengist* and *Woden*; counting no more than *Wegistus* and *Weda*. See *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, Lib. 1. C. 15. Yet we must consider, 49 Years were elapsed from *Hengist* to *Cerdicus*, and granting only longer Lives, it may consist with probability, tho' for *Cerdicus's* time, we cannot allow less than 200 Years, giving them but very common Lives.

‡ *Cerdicus* vera fuit *Else*, *Elisa* *Else*. *Esta* *Giwisi*, *Giwisus* *Wigi*, *Wigus*, *Freawini*, *Freawinus*, *Freothogari*, *Freothogarus*, *Brandi*, *Brandus* *Baldagi*, *Baldagus*, *Wodeni*, *Chronie*, *Saxonic*, Anno 495.

Woden flourish'd before *Dioclesian*, in the Third Century ; such Evidences of Antiquity no Family in *Europe*, can boast the like of at this Day.

The Line of *Cerdicus* endur'd but two Generations, before an Usurpation broke in, which lasted seven Generations ; and then *Ceadwalla*, the Right Heir recover'd his own : And the *Saxon* Chronicle says, that in the Year 685, *Ceadwalla* began to contend for the Kingdom, and then proceeds to shew his Pedigree, in a direct Line from *Cutha*, the Son of deposed *Ceawlinus*. It's plain from hence the *Saxons* always affected the Hereditary Title, and that seven Generations cou'd not strike it quite Dead. And the *Saxon* Chronicle affects likewise to shew his Pedigree from the unfortunate *Ceawlinus* *.

This

* Moreover to prove, that *Ceadwalla* entred upon the Kingdom in pursuance of his Hereditary Pretensions, he return'd from Exile ; the *Saxon* Chronicle says, *An. 685*, he began to contend for the Kingdom. *Bede*, Lib. 4. *Eccles. Hist.* mentions his Wars during his Exile from his Native Country, and *William* of *Malmesbury*, that he was drove out by the Nobility. I suppose, by those Nobility, who had comply'd with the Usurpers before, and who were jealous of his Pretensions. *William* of *Malmesbury*, contrary to all the *Saxon* Chronologists, confounds *Cutha*, or *Cuthwolphus* the Brother of *Ceawlinus*, with *Cutha* the Son of *Ceawlinus*. For Proof of this, I appeal to the *Old Saxon Chronicle*, which says, *Ceadwalla* was the Son of *Cenbyrtus*, *Cenbyrtus* of *Cada*, *Cada* of *Cutha*, and *Cutha* of *Ceawlinus*, &c. See *Chron. Saxon. An. 685*, 45, 30.

See

This restor'd Monarch, was baptiz'd into the Christian Religion, and went to *Rome*, where he was buried in *St. Peter's Church* : To whom succeeded *Ina* ; of whom the *Saxon Chronicle* affects to let us know, he descended from *Cuthwinus* Son of *Cearwlinus*. See the *Saxon Chronicle*, An. 687. p. 46, 28. Edit. Gibson. They each descended from *Cutha* the Son of *Cearwlinus*, one from *Cada*, the other from *Cleowaldus*, who was the younger Son. Upon *Ina's* Death, *Æthelbeard* his Relation, is said, to assume the Government, against whom *Oswald Atbeling* set up his Pretensions, and as the *Saxon Chronicle*, never fails to drive the Pedigree of these Hereditary Pretenders up to *Cearwlinus*, he derives *Oswald's* claim from *Cynibald*, another Son of *Cutha's*, who was in all probability elder than *Ina* ; because *Malmesbury* tells us, that, *Ina magis pro insitiva virtutis industria quam successivæ sobolis prosapia in principatu ascitur. That he was rather taken into the Government upon the account of the Native industry of his Genius, than for any regard to his Lineal Descent.* From whence I conclude, he was one of the Knights of the Industry, as all Usurpers are *.

Further See *William of Malmesbury*, Lib. I. C. 2. Yet he owns, before that, *Cearwlinus* had a Son named *Cutha* who dy'd before his Father's Exile.

* Dr *Smith* is mistaken in his Note upon *Bede*. Lib. I. C. 15. he says, *Cuth* had three Sons, *Cedda* the Grandfather of *Cedwalla*, *Cuth* the Great Grandfather of *Ina*, and *Cynibaldus* the Grandfather of *Oswald Chito* ; whereas it appears by the Table, and by the *Saxon Chro-*

Further down to *Egbert*, the Chronicle is not so particular, and therefore we are more at a loss to find out the Hereditary Line; because he satisfies us with no more than telling us which in general were of the Line of *Cerdicus*; it says, *Cuthred*, of the same Line with *Cerdicus*, succeeded to *Æthelheard* and reign'd seventeen Years.

I observe, that in the space of * 259 Years, we hear of no Elective Kings amongst the *West Saxons*; if the Succession was broke in Fact it was recover'd in Right, and Fact both, and tho' the Sword had sometimes so great a share, the pretended Electors had none. But in the succeeding Reign. *Sigebert* was deprived by *Kenulph*, and all the *Saxon* Lords.

Concerning this Deprivation, I observe, that *Sigebert* not being so near in Blood, as *Kenulph*, accounts for this Deprivation. When People make Kings out of the common road, they may unmake them again, and this was *Sigebert's* Case. *Malmesbury* tells us, Lib. I. C. 2. *Arripuit regnum Sigebertus*; *Sigebert* snatch'd the Crown; and tho' *Roger Hoveden* and *Henry Huntingdon*, say he succeeded to the Kingdom,

Chronicle, that *Cuth* or *Cuthwinus* were the same Person, and the Son of *Ceawlinus*. The Chronicle says, *Ina* was the Son of *Cendred*, the Son of *Cleofwaldus*, the Brother of *Cynigelsus*, both the Sons of *Cuthwinus*, the Son of *Ceawlinus*.

* To the Year 755 when *Sigebert* was depos'd:

Malmesbury

Malmesbury's positive affirmation, weighs more than their careless expressing themselves; for why, instead of the common stile us'd for the rest, as *successit, accepit regnum*; does he say, *arripuit regnum Sigebertus*? unless there had been something worse than ordinary * in his Case, of ascending the Throne.

If we examine likewise, the *Saxon Chronicle*; it says, that *Kenulph*, and the *West Saxon Nobility*, for wrongs done to the whole Kingdom, deprived *Sigebert* his Relation. See 51, 25. Anno 755. In the First place, Why is *Kenulph* distinguish'd from the rest of the Nobility, if he was not the Head of that Meeting, and the more Hereditary Pretender at least. Secondly, He is said to be deprived, for wrongs done to the Kingdom; (all in the space of one Year.) I say, by these wrongs is meant, wrongs done to *Kenulph's* Succession, for many Acts of Violence he hardly had time to perform, neither probably was he so guilty in any other respects; for his Friends preserv'd *Hampshire* for him, against the united Force of *Kenulph*, and the remainder of that great Kingdom of the *West Saxons*. If they protected him upon the account of the Hereditary Title, the more Loyal, and the more Honest they; if he had one. But if they protected him out of personal Esteem, and for his

* *Sigebert's* was an Usurpation, upon an Usurpation.

Virtues;

Virtues ; it's very prbbable, his Usurpation more than his Tyranny was the *iniquum factum regno*, *The wrong done to the Kingdom* ; for which he was depriv'd. Let me add another Observation, to corroborate what I am now upon : *Sigebert* is here said to be *Kenulph's* Relation, from whence I conclude, *Sigebert* was in an Inferior Degree related to *Kenulph*. I appeal to the Civil Law, that *propinquus* always signifies the Proximity in Descent. The Saxon Word is *Maja*, which often signifies Son * ; tho' I do not pretend here to say, it always is to be taken in so strict a Sense, and often it may signify Relations ; yet this I may safely assert, That the Saxon Chronicle uses this Word for a Relation in Descent, as p. 53. 1. *Æthelhard* the *Maja propinquus* of *Ina*, took upon him the Government of the *West Saxons* ; and in the

* See Dr. Hick's *Thesaurus*.

In the Saxon Chronicle it is said, p. 58. that when *Kyneard* had kill'd *Kenulph*, the Lords gather'd together under the Conduct of *Osric* and *Wiwertbus*, and besieg'd *Kyneard* in the very Town where *Kenulph* was kill'd ; he urg'd to divert them from their Revenge, and to procure the Kingdom, that he had their *Majum* with him ; they answer'd, That none of their *Majum* cou'd be dearer to them than their Lord, and they commanded their *Majum* to abandon *Kyneard*.

By *Majum* is here meant Children or Nephews, and near Dependants in Blood, and such as owe Filial Duty to the *Thanes*, and were Subject to their Commands.

same sense *Sigebert* was the Relation of *Kenulph*, tho' he stept into the Throne before him. The Words are, *Kenulph* depriv'd *Sigebert*, his Relation, or *Magé*. If *Sigebert* had been the more Hereditary Monarch of that Family, it would have been more proper to have said, he was depos'd by *Kenulph*, his Relation: But, according to the other Sense, *Sigebert* is called *Kenulph's* Relation. When Families are mention'd by way of Distinction, the Root gives Honour to the Branches, and not the Branches to the Root. It was no Honour to King *James* to say, he was related to his Nephew, the Prince of *Orange*; but it was a Mark of Distinction to say the Prince of *Orange* was *propinquus*, or *Magé*, to King *James*, who was his Uncle. I conclude from this Word *Magé*, or *propinquus*, here applied, we may safely infer, that *Kenulph*, as to Family, was superior to *Sigebert*, and in the space of one Year recover'd his Power from that unhappy Man. The constant Scope of this Part of the Chronicle is to shew, that the *Saxon* Kings were of the Line of *Cerdic*. If *Sigebert*, as I observ'd before, had been the more Hereditary Monarch from *Cerdic*, it would be very impertinent to tell us, he was of the Family of *Kenulph*; as tho' I should say, King *Charles* was related to King *James*, who was of the Line of the *Stuarts*.

To return : *Sigebert* was a Relation to *Cuthred* the deceas'd King ; of both him and *Kennulf* we may conclude, they descended in the Paternal Line from *Cerdic* : *Kyneard* the Brother of *Sigebert* as also *Kennulf*, says the Chronicle, p. 59, 4. were Paternally descended in a Right Line from *Cerdic*.

In short, this noble Monument of Antiquity, so advantageously exhibited to us by the present Bishop of London, seems to be wrote with no other Intention, than to shew the Hereditary Descent of our Kings. He keeps the Line of *Cerdic* always in view : he shews the usurping Line, and the clear one, up to *Ceawlinus* ; tho' in reality, he proceeds contrary to the Course of other Historians ; being more copious at the Fountain-head, than in his more modern Course.

However, by consulting other Historians, we are able to supply the Chasms and Defects of the Chronicle, from *Ceadwalla's* Death ; before which, it is as clear as the Sun.

Ina, upon *Ceadwalla's* Death at Rome crept into the Throne, before the Hereditary Heir *Oswald Atheling*. This I shall prove from *William of Malmesbury*. *Et (Ceadwalla) Romanam eunte, regnum per Inam novatum, qui Cynegeist ex fratre Cuthbaldo pronepos magis profectus virtutis industria, quam successive solibus prosapia in principatum ascitum.* He (*Ceadwalla*) going to Rome, the Kingdom was innovated upon by *Ina*, who was the great Nephew

phew of Cinegilfus, from his Brother Cuthbald ; and was assum'd into the Kingdom, rather upon the account of his in-bred Acquirements, than his successive Descent in Blood. For this Reason, in my Saxon Scheme, I have put down this Family, as the youngest Branch we know of certainly, from Cedda the Grandson of Cearwlinus. We find in the said Chronicle, that Oswaldus Atheling, had a fierce Battle with Æthelheard in the Year 728, and in 730 he dy'd. In his Pedigree from Cynebald, the other Brother of Cedda, I have plac'd him before Ina, next to Ceadwalla's Line ; and conclude, Oswald Atheling sustain'd the quarrel William of Malmesbury hints at, who has these Words : *Nam & ipse Brithricus & Cæsteri infra Inam, reges, licet natalium splendore gloriantes, quippe qui de Cerdico originem traherent) non parum tamen à linea regie stirpis exorbitaverant ;* For even Brithricus, and the rest of the Kings after Ina, altho' they all might boast of the splendour of their Families, being every one descended from Cerdic ; yet, they had not mov'd a little eccentrically from the Royal Line. See Will. Malmes. Lib. I. C. 2.

I desire the Reader to observe, he wrote his History in Henry I's time, who prudently cemented his own crasy Title, by the Marriage of Matilda, the Daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scotland ; by which means the Saxon Line was restor'd. I do not in the least Question

but *Malmesbury* expressed himself thus with that view ; and the whole Nation, let the Author of *Hereditary Right* say what he will, were as much rejoic'd at the Restoration of that Blood, as they were afterwards at the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. The *Saxon Chronicle* speaks of it in the following manner: The King took to Wife, *Maud*, the Daughter to *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, and of *Margaret* that excellent Queen, related to King *Edward*, and descended from the right *English* Lineal Stock. See p. 108, 40. We see here he puts a great stress, not upon only Queen *Margaret's* Relation to *Edward* that popular *Saxon* Usurper, but her Descent from *Edmund*, that unfortunate King, whose Title was over-run by a Foreign Invasion and Treachery at Home. We see here, the *Chronicle* distinguishes her Descent from *Edmund*, as a distinct advantage to her Character, from her Relation to *Edward*; and what cou'd this be, except the superiority of Hereditary Right from *Edmund*.

To return to *William* of *Malmesbury*, he says, even *Britbricus* himself, and the other Kings after *Ina*, tho' they cou'd boast of their Descent from *Cerdic*; yet this Glory was sullied and diminished by their deviation from the strait Line, and therefore he introduces *Egbert* as the last of the Royal Stock in opposition to this deviation.

Egbert

Egbert descended from *Ingildus*, a Brother of *Ina's*. The Reader may, perhaps, ask how Egbert cou'd come by this Hereditary Title, when he descended from a younger Brother of *Ina's*, whom I confess to have been an Usurper?

I answer, that *Ralph Higden* in his *Poly-Chronicon*, *Ann.* 797. in relating the Pedigree of Egbert, tho' he descended from a Brother of *Ina's*, he says, he was *ex stirpe Inæ*; from whence we may conclude, *Ina* was the elder Brother; yet when *Oswald Atheling* was dead, who was of the elder Branch; and *Ina* dead, Egbert cou'd have no Pretenders before him, and therefore he was the Hereditary Root, from whom sprang that successive race of Kings for the space of 217 Years; in which there was only one Deviation, *viz.* *Eadred's*, which lasted no more than nine Years.

One difficulty remains, whereas all the Princes of the second Usurping Line, are said by the Chronicle to have been of *Cerdicus's* Line, from what Branch of *Cerdicus* shall we bring them down?

I answer, they might descend from *Cynegilsus*, the Brother of *Ceolwaldus* or *Cuthbaldus*, mentioned both in the Chronicle, and by *William of Malmesbury*. When *Ceolwaldus* and his Posterity are mentioned, *Cynegilsus* is join'd with him as his Brother, as the Chronicle expresses; *Ceolwaldus* was the Brother of *Cynegilsus*, both Sons of *Cuthwinus*, the Son of *Cearwlinus*.

See

See p. 47, 9. As we find nothing more of *Cynegilsus* than his being Brother to *Cuthbald*, and is always brought in as a Twin, 'tis more than probable, he was distinguish'd as the Father of some remarkable Line of Kings, whom these mention'd only cou'd be.

Having thus set right this very difficult affair of the Line from *Ina* to *Egbert*, no Argument can be drawn from the meeting of the Nobility with *Kemulph* to justify the deposing, or the Elective Power in that Assembly, who do not appear to be the Supream Power, upon the account of some particular Defects.

I shall now proceed to sum up my Observations, upon the whole Scheme of the *Saxon* Succession.

Cerdicus's Line endur'd without Interruption, only sixty five Years, and the brave *Cearwlinus* who had ventur'd his Life for Glory, and brought the *West Saxon* Monarchy to its greatest height, was depos'd by a young Jack-a-napes, who was taken too soon from School, raw, unfleg'd, unwhip'd and uncorrected*.

* *Ina* is said by *Bede*, Lib. V. C. 7. to have left the Kingdom, and to have commended it *juvenioribus*; that *Ethelheard* was the Usurper, appears from *William of Malmesbury* before quoted. *Oswald* I suppose thought a Partition-Treaty injurious to his Hereditary Title. If there was a deviation after *Ina*, *Claro's* claim from *Cynibaldus* must be elder than *Ethelheard's* from *Cynigilsus*, or there could be no deviation at all.

Geolus

Ceolus was his Name; he was the Founder of the First Line of Usurpers, which lasted near 100 Years: Tho' even that Line was kept up in a great measure Hereditarily in its way. If we compare the Scheme in the First Table with that in the Third, we shall find a *temporary Breach made by *Ceolwulfus*, and heal'd again by *Cynegilfus*; another by *Aescwinus*, heal'd by *Centwinus*; not to omit the Usurpation of *Sexburga*, who, as she govern'd her Husband when alive, govern'd the Kingdom after his Death.

Ceadwalla recover'd his Right by force of Arms; and we hear no more of any future Transactions of this usurping Line.

His Pilgrimage to *Rome*, and dying there, gave † *Ina* an Opportunity to precipitate himself into a Throne not his own.

* *Bede* gives us a little more History concerning *Cenwallus*, than we have in the Chronicle. He says, *Cenwallus* or *Coinaleb*, was banish'd three Years, being driven out of the Kingdom by *Penda*, the King of *Mercia*. He was afterwards restor'd. He was expell'd by the Course of War, for divorcing his Wife, Sister to *Penda*, and taking another. This Reason the Chronicle omits. See *Bede, Eccl. Hist. lib. 3. c. 7.* *Bede* likewise tells us in the preceding Chapter, That *Oswald*, King of *Northumberland*, before he was kill'd by *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, had the supreme Dominion over the *West Saxons*: To such Weakness had this Usurpation reduc'd them.

† *Ina's* Father *Cendred* was alive when he took the Crown. See *Pref. to Ina's Laws.*

Ina's Journey to *Rome* likewise open'd his Family to the same Turn: And thus the Usurpers devour'd each other, like Pikes in a Pond, till *Egbert*, by his Succession, brought Tranquillity to Hereditary Right, as I observ'd before, to the Conquest by the *Danes*, except the small Interruption of Nine Years †.

This * *Egbert*, under the Usurpation of *Bribtricus*, as being the last of the Royal Stock, and potent, by reason of these Pretensions, was driven into *France*; and the Usurper married the Daughter of *Offa*, King of *Merca*, to strengthen his Usurpation. He was led to raise a new Alliance, and a new Family, to ruine the Prince he had injur'd; as it is too commonly done by Men of lesser Stations in Human Life.

Surely the *Saxons* affected these Hereditary Pretensions. The Chronicle is full of them. *William* of *Malmesbury* seems to rejoice, that *Egbert* was not hunted to Death.

Athelwulph, his Son, did not come in by Election. *Henry* † *Huntington* says, he was Bishop of *Winchester*; but his Father *Egbert* being

‡ From the Year 800, to 1017; i. e. 217 Years.

* *Egbertum solum regie prosapie superstitem, quem validissimum suis utilitatibus meruebat objicem. Franciam fugandum curavit.* Will. Malmesbury, lib. 1. c. 2. Vita Brihtrici.

† *Hic primum fuit Episcopus apud Wincestre. Sed Egberto patre suo defuncto, necessitate cogente factus est Rex.* Hen. Hunting. lib. 5. p. 200. apud Adelw.

dead,

dead, *be was by necessity made King*, as Necessity and Choice, are as distinct as Light from Darknes, no Election could take place here ‡. **Henry Huntingdon* further says, that *Athelwulph*, left to his Son *Ædelbald*, the Hereditary Kingdom of the *West Saxons*.

As here was a great affectation of Hereditary Right, I hope, Mr. *Graftsman*, will not charge Novelty upon King *James I.* he had the *English* Historians, and Practice on his side.

It remains, that I say something concerning the Authority of the *Saxon Chronicle*, so often quoted by me.

All our Historians, copy after this Chronicle, *William of Malmesbury* takes the Pedigree of *Ina* there-from †: Nor is there any Writer that gives any Genealogy besides, distinct or independent thereof.

‡ This Necessity could be only the Necessary of Birth and of Justice.

* *Ædelbaldo filio suo reliquit predictus rex nobilissimus regnum Hereditarium West Saxonum*, ib. ap. *Ædelbaldum*.

† *William of Malmesbury*, mentions the *Chronicon*: *Sunt sane quedam vetustatis indicia, Chronico more & patrio Sermone per annos Domini ordinata, per hæc oblivionis senium elucta: meruerunt quæcunque post illum virum (Beda) fluxerunt tempora.* Will. Malmesbury in Prologo.

There are certain footsteps of Antiquity dispos'd after a Chronicle-Method, in our own Native Language; according to the Year of our Lord, which have snatch'd from Oblivion all those times since. (i. e. from *Beda*)

The variety of Copies all agreeing in the main, are so many Proofs, that it was not the Figment of an Impostor, that it was an Authentick Monument preserv'd in the Archives of several Monasteries; and that 'twas chiefly copied from one Original publickly known and allowed, as was the Person who compil'd it; and it was made afterwards, upon Revising and Comparing, a lasting History for the benefit of Posterity. That of *Wheeloc*, was taken from two Manuscripts, one in *Bennet-College, Cambridge*; and the other, in the *Cotton-Library*. This of *Gibson's*, is supplied from two Manuscripts given to the *Bodleian-Library*, by Archbishop *Laud*; of which, one has manifest Marks of having belong'd to the Monastery of *Peterborough*; the other seems to be a Transcript of a fresher Date, tho' it has several Emendations not to be found in the rest. This is the Account *Gibson* gives, in his Preface concerning the various Manuscripts of this Work; lastly, from *Scoti-Chronicon*, he gives us such an Account, by which we may form a true notion of the nature of this Chronicle, (says that Author.) 'It is agreed upon
'in *England*, (as I have heard,) that every
'Monastery founded by their Kings, shall have
'a certain Scribe, who shall carefully Note down
'all the remarkable things happening with them
'in that Reign, or with their Neighbours, according to their credibility as they appear: These
'Scribes

‘ Scribes at the next general Meeting (*ad proximum generale concilium*,) compare their performances together, and after a strict Examination by the wisest Men, they extract the Heads, and compose a Chronicle, which is kept with the Archives of the Monastery, as a standing and authentick Chronicle, to eternise the Facts in each Reign, and preserve them from the injury of Time.

This Account clears up the Authority of our Chronicle, and sets it upon as clear a bottom as our publick Statutes ; it is the united work of the most ingenious Men compos’d in the Saxon times, and continu’d till that Language was out of Date. A more noble piece of Historical Antiquity of those times no Nation has.

* *Georgius Fabricius Chemnicensis*, a very learned and a very great Man, has taken a great deal of pains to publish the Saxon History, by the Command of the Elector of Saxony ; This Work is deficient for want of the *Chronicon*, it being publish’d long before ; and he was so ignorant of our *English* Affairs, that for the *West Saxon* Line, he supplies us only with *Cearwlinus*, *Cynegilsus* and *Cenelmus* from

* *Cum autem obscuritas tanta sit in Anglicis, annalibus ut continua aliqua stirps elici, ex iis non possit.* Georgius Fabric. Orig. Saxon. lib. 1. p. 9.

The variety of Copies all agreeing in the main, are so many Proofs, that it was not the Pigment of an Impostor, that it was an Authentick Monument preserv'd in the Archives of several Monasteries; and that 'twas chiefly copied from one Original publicly known and allowed, as was the Person who compil'd it; and it was made afterwards, upon Revising and Comparing, a lasting History for the benefit of Posterity. That of *Wheeloc*, was taken from two Manuscripts, one in *Bennet-College, Cambridge*; and the other, in the *Cotton-Library*. This of *Gibson's*, is supplied from two Manuscripts given to the *Bodleian-Library*, by Archbishop *Laud*; of which, one has manifest Marks of having belong'd to the Monastery of *Peterborough*; the other seems to be a Transcript of a fresher Date, tho' it has several Emendations not to be found in the rest. This is the Account *Gibson* gives, in his Preface concerning the various Manuscripts of this Work; lastly, from *Scoti-Chronicon*, he gives us such an Account, by which we may form a true notion of the nature of this Chronicle, (says that Author.) 'It is agreed upon
' in *England*, (as I have heard,) that every
' Monastery founded by their Kings, shall have
' a certain Scribe, who shall carefully Note down
' all the remarkable things happening with them
' in that Reign, or with their Neighbours, according to their credibility as they appear: These
' Scribes

' Scribes at the next general Meeting (*ad proximum generale concilium*,) compare their performances together, and after a strict Examination by the wisest Men, they extract the Heads, and compose a Chronicle, which is kept with the Archives of the Monastery, as a standing and authentick Chronicle, to eternise the Facts in each Reign, and preserve them from the injury of Time.

This Account clears up the Authority of our Chronicle, and sets it upon as clear a bottom as our publick Statutes ; it is the united work of the most ingenious Men compos'd in the Saxon times, and continu'd till that Language was out of Date. A more noble piece of Historical Antiquity of those times no Nation has.

* *Georgius Fabricius Chemnicensis*, a very learned and a very great Man, has taken a great deal of pains to publish the Saxon History, by the Command of the Elector of Saxony : This Work is deficient for want of the *Chronicon*, it being publish'd long before ; and he was so ignorant of our *English* Affairs, that for the *West Saxon* Line, he supplies us only with *Cearwlinus*, *Cynegilsus* and *Cenelmus* from

* *Cum autem obscuritas tanta sit in Anglicis, annalibus ut continua aliqua stirps elici, ex iis non possit.* Georgius Fabric. Orig. Saxon. lib. 1. p. 9.

Bede, and afterwards frames a Genealogy, beginning so low as *Egbert*, when the *Saxon* Line began to run as clear as a strong Stream over the firmest Bed of Pebbles and Sand. So that all the dark Times from the Year 495, to the Year 800, are omitted in a great measure for want of this *Chronicon*; and thro' Ignorance thereof he says, *The obscurity of our English Annals is such, that no perfect Line of Extraction can be form'd there-from.* How much he was mistaken, the Scheme above manifestly shews.

If the *Chronicon* is of so great Authority as to be the result of all the great Men in the *Saxon* times, what fair and what ample Testimony have we for Hereditary Right, continually striving to recover its Seat, lost by Violence? How carefully these Men kept their Eyes upon *Cerdic*, the first Founder of their Monarchy; and how distinctly they mark every Deviation from the Right Line, till *Egbert*, the great Consolidator of the *Saxon* Heptarchy, clear'd the dispute.

This *Chronicon* ends 1154; the Writers before, in no instance of moment disagree there-from, and the following ones Copy after it.

Gibson

Gibson * likewise in his Preface, observes, That it follows all the Variations of the *Saxon* Language, according to the Time in which it was wrote. At the beginning *Edward* is wrote *Eadward*; in *Edward* the Confessor's time, as we may see from the ancient Coins, *a* is expung'd, and so 'tis in this Chronicle: I observe moreover, that in the Year 1040 it is *Eadward*, and in the Year 1042, when he came to the Crown he is stil'd *Edward*, tho' but two Years after. The reason of this, I shall account for, in such a manner as shall compleatly fortify the authority of the *Scoti-Chronicon* before-cited, and prove this Chronicle to be one of those publick Registers, preserv'd in the Monasteries of Royal Foundation *.

In the Year 1042, *Hardicanute* dy'd; the wise Men wrote his Life; and mentioning *Eadward*, they wrote it after the ancient manner; but the Life of *Edward*, not being wrote till the decease of that King, in 23 Years after, a new set of Men, in a great measure following the Variation, stile him immediately after his Accession, *Edward*; and this only,

* See Gibson's Preface.

* We must observe, in the Year 1041 he is stil'd after the ancient way, *Eadward*, i. e. betwixt his Accession and Coronation; till which time of his Coronation, the new Hands did not begin this Part of their Work; and therein follow'd the New Stile, assum'd by *Edward* upon his Coins.

can

can account for the Variation of the same Person's Name in the space of two Years. 'Tis true, the Variation is not in *Wheelock's* Edition : However, it is in ours ; which appears by evident Marks, to have belong'd to the Monastery of * *Peterborough*, and to have been an Original. Its Authority is, by this Variation beyond Contradiction : For it is not likely, the same Man, in one or two Years should change his Spelling and Dialect. Therefore it was compos'd at the End of each Reign, as the *Scoti-Chronicon* observes, was the general Method us'd.

Having thus establish'd the Authority of this Invaluable Piece of Antiquity, I shall next descend to treat of *Edward the Confessor's* Title and Pretensions.

The Author of *Hereditary Right* has industriously insisted upon his Title, only for the sake of an *Hypothesis*, rather than to establish a Truth in the Minds of the People, for political Reasons best known to himself ; and which, I dare say, he will now willingly renounce. *Sublatâ causâ, tollitur effectus* †.

* This Monastery was founded by *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, and finish'd by *Wulpher*, his Son.

† The Lady is dead, for whose Reading the Book was calculated ; and Strangers, in all probability, will not be affected thereby.

Edward

Edward the Confessor assum'd the Crown entirely upon the Bottom of the *Danish* Conquest. He was Half-Brother to *Hardicanute*, they having both the same Mother. The Author of *Hereditary Right* establishes this Conquest first, as the Basis of the new-erected Scheme; and he founds it upon the Agreement of *Edmond Ironside* with *Canute*, to divide the Kingdom; and if the Agreement included a disinheriting his Children, it was equivalent to a Testamentary Devolution. Of this latter Part there is great want of Proof; and there is even strong Presumption to the contrary. And if it was really so in fact, considering some Circumstances, it may really be set aside, for Reasons of the same nature I have given in the last *Occasional Historian*, in the Case of King *Charles*, when the *Scots* invaded *England*: For external or internal Force have the same Effects, as to evacuating Cessions, prejudicial to Right.

Most of the Historians mention no other Agreement, than that they should divide the Kingdom betwixt them. But, says the * Author of *Hereditary Right*, from *Brompton* and *Higden*, After the Death of *Edmund*, *Canute* asked his Nobility and Bishops, if in this Social League any mention was made betwixt him and *Eadmund*,

* He omits the preceding Words, They answered falsely and flatteringly, No.

concerning the Succession of the Brothers or Sons of Edmund after the said Edmund's Death, it was answer'd, No. If not, there was no positive Agreement that the Survivor should take all; and the Children had an undoubted Right to the Portion reserv'd by the League, to the Father. *Edmund* had an Hereditary Right to the Whole, and was first Lord of that Whole. *Canute* could therefore claim no more from that League, than was positively conceded to him: If *Canute* had dy'd first, where would the Kingdom of *Mercia* have gone? To *Edmund's* Posterity, or to *Canute's*? It was no more than a Partition-Treaty, and there was no Devolution by *Edmund Ironside* of the whole, as I can find by any Historian, who wrote of those Times.

As for the Testimony of his own Creatures, they weigh little with any considering and impartial Man.

Concerning *Canutus's* entring upon the Kingdom *William* of * *Malmesbury* says, *In the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1017, Canutus began to reign; he began that Reign unjustly, tho' he carried it on with great Humanity and Fortitude.*

* Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ millesimo decimo septimo Canuto regnare cœpit, & viginti annis regnavit; injustè quidem regnum ingressus, sed magnâ civilitate & fortitudine, vitam composu-
Will. Malmesb. lib. 2. c. 111.

More-

Moreover, *Canutus's* own Words, who offer'd the Partition himself, shew, that the Children of each were to inherit: Says *William of Malmesbury* *, *As they both, not without reason, claim'd the Country their Father held before them; it would be more prudent, laying aside Animosities, to divide the Kingdom. If by Canutus's Confession, they ought to divide the Kingdom they held separately from their Father, the Children had the same Right to those Pretensions: Quæ conveniunt alicui, tertio, conveniunt inter se.* And as *Canute*, under the Pretence that *Edmund Ironside's* Children were not mention'd, seiz'd the whole; it was something like the Fable of the Lion's dividing the Lamb; one Part was due to him for his Strength, another for his Nobility, and a third for his Will.

I look upon *William of Malmesbury's* to be as valuable an History as any we have extant, except the *Chronicon*. He lived in *Henry the First's* time, when that excellent Monu-

* 'Verum quia ambo non indebitè regnum efflagitent, quod patres amborum tenuerint, convenire prudentiæ, ut depositis animositatibus, Anglicam partiantur. *Ib. c. 10.*

Malmesbury further adds, mentioning *Canutus's* Acts of Piety, that he wiped off the Blot of his Injustice, with God, perhaps himself; but with Men; most certainly, *Injustitiæ nevum apud Deum fortassis, apud homines certè absterfir.* This nevus injustitiæ was his possessing the Throne, and the Wrong done to *Edmund's* Children.

ment of Antiquity was drawing towards its Period. And as to the History it self, it is, in my Opinion, compos'd with that natural Simplicity and Honesty, and so early after the Times concerning which I am now treating, I know none in *Latin* so valuable, excepting his Reflections upon *Edgar Atheling*.

* The Posterity of *Edmund Ironside*, whose Cause with so much Bowels of Compassion I now plead, were sent by *Canute* (says *Will. of Malmesbury*) to the King of *Sweden* to be destroy'd; but being, thro' Pity, by that King preserv'd, they went to the King of *Hungary*, where they were hospitably entertain'd; the Eldest dy'd, and the Other marry'd *Agatha*, the Sister to the Queen.

As *Edmund Ironside* was in the full Possession of a mighty Army, and *Canute* offer'd him the Partition-Treaty first, as an Expedient to ease both their † Hereditary Pretensions; why should we suppose, *Edmund* condescended to such unequal Terms, to dis-inherit his own Children?

* 'Filii ejus Edwinus & Edwardus missi ad regem Suevorum, ut perimerentur; sed miseratione ejus conservati, Hunorum regem petierunt, ubi dum benigne aliquo tempore habiti essent, major diem obiit, minor (*Edwardus*) reginæ sororem *Agatham* in matrimonium accepit. *Will. Malmesbury, lib. 2. c. 10.*

From him came *Edgar Atheling*, the Hereditary Descendant of *Edmund Ironside*.

† *Canute* pretended to inherit half the Kingdom, from *Swane*, who conquer'd it.

Nei-

Neither did the honest, stubborn Cavaliers think he did.

Edwin was supported by the honest *West Saxons* as King; and *Edward* bore him Company, as being the next apparent Heir.

The Country - Gentlemen did not agree with *Canute's* Creatures, his Lords, Pimps, and Bishops. They look'd upon *Edmund* as their King, and stood up for him as long as they could.

To return; * *Henry Huntington* says, *Canute* paid the *English* home for their Wickedness; that is, he plaid the Tyrant with them, who had wickedly comply'd with that Usurper's Accession. He banish'd their Great Men, or brought 'em to violent Ends; even those who had been most active in transferring the Kingdom to him.

† *Simeon Dunelmensis* is more particular; and indeed, if any credit is to be given to him, he puts an end to this Dispute; his Words are, ' *Canute* call'd all the Bishops and Captains, Princes and Chief Peers of the *English* Nation together at *London*, who, when they

E 2

' came

* ' *Postea rex verò dignam retributionem, nequitiae Anglis reddidit. Hen. Huntingd. lib. 6.* He flourish'd Anno 1160.

† ' *Rex Canutus omnes Episcopos, Duces, necnon & Principes cunctosque Optimates gentis Angliæ Londoniæ congregari iussit, qui cum venissent ante eum*

came before him, as it were ignorantly, he ask'd them with Cunning enough, who were Witnesses betwixt him and *Edmund*, when the Agreement of Friendship and Division of the Kingdom was made, What Conversation he and *Edmund* had, concerning *Edmund's* Brothers and Sons? Whether they were to reign over the Kingdom of the *West Saxons* after their Father, if *Edmund* was to die before him? They told him, they certainly knew that King *Edmund* design'd his Brothers no Portion of the Kingdom, living or dying. As to the Sons, they knew that King *Edmund* design'd that *Canute* should be their Protector and Guardian, till they were old enough to govern: But they, before God, gave in False Evidence, and fraudulently ly'd, expecting his Clemency, and a Bribe for that Lie; and he rewarded them with the Loss of their Lives afterwards for it.

eum, quasi nesciens, interrogavit eos sagacissime, qui fuerunt testes inter eum, & Edmundum, quando Conventionem amicitiae & divisionem regni inter se fecerunt, qualiter ipse & Edmundus de fratribus & filiis ejus inter se locuti fuissent, Utrum fratribus & filiis ejus liceret in regnum Occidentalium Saxonum, post patrem eorum regnare, si Edmundus ipso vivente moreretur? At illi coeperunt dicere, se proculdubio scire quod rex Eadmundus vellent Canutum Adjutorem & Protectorem esse filiorum ejus donec regnandi aetatem haberent. Utrum illi testes Deo falsum perhibuissent testimonium & fraudulenter mentiri sunt aestimantes illum sibi & mitiorem esse propter mendacium eorum & se ab eo pretium sumere magnum. *Sim. Danelm. de Gest. Ang.* 1016. He flourish'd in the 12. Cent.

This Account has more Probability, than *Brompton's* and *Higden's*; who say, that the Peers absolutely deny'd any Mention of *Edmund Ironside's* Issue. * *Hoveden's* Account softens the Asperity of this Transaction. It's very improbable, a Prince should forget his Posterity for the sake of a Foreigner, whom he had so often fought in the Field, and for whom he could have no Motives of Esteem; Therefore they recurr'd to this Expedient, to make *Canute* a Tutor and Guardian first, and a Devourer of the whole Royal Family at the End. Besides, it is not probable any Historian should frame a formal Lye, to put into the Mouths of all the Bishops, as well as the Lay Lords in the Kingdom. † *Hoveden* has stolen the same Account Word for Word from *Simeon Dunelmensis*, who was an Author of establish'd Reputation with all Learned Men, especially with *Selden* and *Leland*.

Ethelr. Abbas relates it in the same manner *;
' He ask'd them, What was the Convention
' betwixt *Edmund* and himself! whom *Edmund*
' design'd to be his Heir! whom he appointed
' Tutor to his Children! and what he determin'd

† He flourish'd under *Hen. 2. Ric. & Joanne*.

* He flourish'd *Ann. 1116.*

' Quæritque ab eis, quæ fuerint inter ipsum &
' Edmundum in Regni divisione Conventio! quem
' scilicet sibi designaverit Rex Edmundus hæredem!
' quem filiis adhuc infantibus custodem deputave-
rir;

' min'd to do with his Brothers *Alured* and
 ' *Edward*? But they, to please the King,
 ' prefer a Lye to Truth; and forgetful of
 ' Justice, and of Nature, they commenc'd
 ' wicked Evidences against the Innocents; and
 ' being Traytors to their own proper Blood,
 ' they said, King *Edmund* design'd to him the
 ' Care of the Kingdom, and of the Children;
 ' whereas he design'd his Brothers to be Heirs
 ' and Guardians to his Children: Wherefore
 ' because they flatter'd the King, and ly'd to
 ' him, a Sword enter'd their Hearts, and their
 ' Bow was broken, by that very *Canute*, whom
 ' they prefer'd, tho' a Foreigner, to their
 ' Natural Lord. When he had got the Go-
 ' vernment of the Isle by their means, he ex-
 ' tirpated the First in that Counsel, and banish'd
 ' or destroy'd all the Family.

The
 ' quid de fratribus suis *Aluredo* & *Edwardo* praece-
 ' perit? At illi, ut Regi placerent, mendacium
 ' praeferunt veritati, oblique justitiae, oblique na-
 ' turae, insurrexerunt in innocentes testes iniqui &
 ' mentita est iniquitas sibi. Itaque proprii sangui-
 ' nis proditores dicunt Regem *Edmundum* sibi poti-
 ' us curam regni, filiorumque suorum delegasse; cum
 ' ipse fratres suos haeredes designaverit & eis puerilo-
 ' rum custodiam deputaverit. Quoniam igitur adu-
 ' lantes Regi mentiri sunt in caput suum, gladius e-
 ' orum intravit in corda eorum; & à *Cnutho*, quem
 ' alienigenam naturalibus dominis praeulerunt con-
 ' fractus est arcus eorum; cum enim Monarchiam
 ' insulae, faventibus illis obtinuisset, omnes qui pri-
 ' mi in illo fuere consilio, exterminavit, & quot-
 ' quot de Regis semine superstites repperit, vel reg-

The Reader may be a little startled at one thing, viz. that our Author should assert *Edmund* design'd to make his Brothers his Heirs. This must be understood, that he designed 'em provisional Heirs, if his own Children should die without Issue; or our Author went a little too far, out of regard to *Edward the Confessor's* Memory.

The Author of *Hereditary Right*, as thinking *Brompton* more fit for his purpose, who says, 'They positively deny'd any mention concerning the Succession of *Edmund's* Children, he leaves out the Words, which make against his Hypothesis, and explain the whole *. He leaves out before *responderunt* these Words, *falsissimè & adulatoriè*, because it entirely made against him. The Words are, 'They falsely and flatteringly answer'd, No, thinking by this to get some high Post in the King's Favour. They moreover took the Oaths to *Canute*, as King, and vow'd to expel the whole Fa-

* no reppulit vel occidit. *Abbas de Rivallis de Genealog. Reg. Angl. p. 365. 366.*

The same Account is exactly given by *Florentius Wigorniensis*.

* 'Qui adulatoriè & falsissimè, responderunt quod Non; æstimantes per hoc magnum apud Regem locum tenere. Insuper juraverunt quod ipsum Canutum pro Rege semper tenerent, & propin- quos *Edmundi* omnes expellerent; unde iusto Dei judicio dignam nequitiæ retributionem postmodum Anglis reddit. *Brompton, Chronicon, p. 907.*

mily

‘mily of *Edmund*; for which Wickedness they
 ‘were fully repaid by the just Judgment of
 ‘God’. *Ralph Higden*, in his *Polychronicon*
 has the very Words. What this Author meant
 by putting this Quotation upon us, I cannot
 tell. The leaving out the Words FLATTER-
 INGLY AND FALSLY make as different a Sense,
 and as opposite, as Affirming and Denying.
 It was not worth his while to go these lengths
 for the sake of *Edward the Confessor*, when they
 are so obvious, and so easily found out: If he
 had cast his Eye a little further into *Brompton*,
 he would have found another Quotation as full
 against him.

* ‘King *Canute*, says our Author, ask’d
 ‘his Consort *Emma* †, what he should do with
 ‘the two Children of *Edmund Ironside*, viz.
 ‘*Edmund and Edward*? Who answer’d him
 ‘thus, Sir, THEY ARE THE RIGHT HEIRS OF
 ‘THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND; and by all the
 ‘Tokens of Life and Health, they promise to
 ‘cut us out in a short time no little War.

* ‘*Præterea*, Rex *Canutus* quadam vice *Emmam*
 ‘Consortem suam consuluit, quid de duobus filiis
 ‘Regis *Edmundi Ironside*, *Edmundo* videlicet &
 ‘*Edwardo*, foret melius faciendum? Quæ respon-
 ‘dens, dixit, Domine, *Resti sunt Angliæ Heredes*, qui
 ‘vitâ & sanitate comitibus, non minimam vobis
 ‘guerram in brevi parabunt. *Brompt. ib. l. 29.*

† *Emma* had been *Ethelred’s* second Wife, and
 was therefore Aunt-in-law to *Edmund’s* Children.

This

This admirable Evidence is worth its Weight in Gold, and will do hereafter Service to *Edgar Atheling*, whom the Author of *Hereditary Right* affects to use very ill, tho' his Blood is the best that runs in the Royal Veins. Let me add another Testimony from *Thorn**, that most accurate and diligent Historian; 'Canute the Dane succeeded to the Kingdom of England, not by Hereditary Succession, but by Force of Arms'. Let me add the *Augustine Chronology*, which ranks all the *Danish* Line under the Title of *Subverters of the Kingdom of England*.

† *Henry Knighton* says, that when *Canute* ask'd the Nobility, what mention was made of *Edmund's* Issue, 'They return'd a false and flattering Answer, and were therefore destroyed and rooted out, by the just Judgment of God.'

Johannes Wallingford speaks of this Convention with *Ironside* more particularly than the rest; and in contradiction to them, he is very powerful on the side of the Author of

* Rex Canutus, natione Danus, non successione hæreditaria, sed armorum violentiâ in regnum Anglorum successit. *Thorn, Chron. An. 1017.*

Thorn's Character. See *Selden's* Pref. to the *Decem Scriptores*, p. 46.

† At illi responderunt falsissime & adulatorie. (See *Hen. Knighton de Eventibus Angliæ. l. 1. c. 3.*) unde & justè Dei judicio, quidam eorum sunt interfecti, quidam exterminati.

34 The Occasional Historian.

Hereditary Right; but where he got his Intelligence, I cannot tell: But, as he gives us a good Testimony for Hereditary Right, I shall put him down. He says, *By the Convention, Edmund was to have all he was possess'd of by Hereditary Right; and the first who dy'd, was to leave the Survivor Heir to the rest* *. A very cruel and barbarous Agreement, if it was true. But, as *Wallingford* stands alone, I am oblig'd to suspend my Assent thereto.

† However, our Author had no Opinion of the Validity of this Convention; he look'd upon *Canute* as an Usurper; and as I cannot tell how he had lost sight of *Edmund's* Children, he bestows the Hereditary Right upon the two Brothers of *Edmund*, and says, they were by Right, Heirs of the Crown. This Monk seems to have some partial View towards *Edward the Confessor*: Tho' I must say, a great deal may be urg'd by way of Mitigation; but I cannot help him to the Hereditary Title.

* *Eadmundus rex ea, quæ ex jure hereditario sibi protenerunt, & prior decedens, suæ partis superstitem Hæredem derelinquerit. Johan. Walling. Chron. p. 549. de Edmundo Ironside.*

† *Adhuc in primordiis Regni sui venerunt legati à Normannia ex parte Eadwardi & Alfredi filiorum Ethelredi fratrum Edmundi Ironside, ejus de jure erant hæredes. ib.*

* For Jun,

* *Fordun*, who wrote the *Scoti-Chronicon*, says, 'Canute was receiv'd as King, after he had expell'd the true Heirs.' He tell us moreover, 'That *Duncan*, Nephew to the King of Scotland, would not do Homage to Canute for Cumberland, tho' frequently summon'd thereto; because that Homage did not belong to him by Right, but to the Kings of England.' At length it was agreed, that *Duncan* should do Homage to *Canute*.

This is a noble Instance of the Honour of this *Scot*; he rather rais'd an Army, and stood the Hazard of encountring a monstrous Usurper, than violate his Conscience. He had no Notion that Possession gave a Right. He look'd upon *Edmund's* eldest Son as his King. We see, this Distinction of Kings for the time being without Right was very ancient, and not unknown the *Scots*. We see likewise a Cotemporary with *Canute*, a Prince, who must know all the Transactions of those Times, would not come into that Na-

* 'Ab omni statim Anglia susceptus est in regem, expulsis interim veris hæredibus. *Scoti-Chronic.* 40. lib. 4.

'Non enim hætenus, Anglorum Regi Cnutoni, quia regnum invaserat pro Cumbria *Duncanus* quanquam iterum & iterum ab eo summonitus homagium fecerat, quia non ipse sibi de jure, sed regibus Angligenis fidem deberi rex rescripsit. *ib.*

Dum tamen ipse futurorum regum *Herades*, qui pro tempore fuerint regi Cnutoni, caterisque suis successoribus Anglorum regibus fidem consuetam faciant. *ib.*

tional Lye, or at least, would pay no regard to a Compact, (if there was any) obtain'd by Force*, to prejudice the Pretensions of two innocent Babes.

I grant, some of our Writers are a little too partial to *Edward the Confessor's* Title, passing over the Issue of a Brave Prince, sent over the Hills, and far away to the East, expecting the Sun to rise from that Place and light them home to their own Country: Yet the Patrons of *Edward's* Title never found it upon *Canute*; but, on the contrary, upon his *Saxon* Descent. They assert, that Hereditary Title, when he was in Exile in *Normandy*. *Hollinshed*, from a very ancient History, call'd *Encomium Emmae* †; (of which he says, in his time there were very few Copies abroad.) Speaking of Queen *Emma*, he says, 'For the which no small Praise was thought to be due unto the said Queen, sith by her politick Government, in making her Match so beneficial to her self and her Line, the Crown was thus recover'd out of the Hands of the Danes, and restor'd again in time to the right Heir.

* Till the Inequality of Forces obliged him there-to.

† *Hollinshed*, B 7. c. 11. See *Encomium Emmae apud Du Chesne's* Edit. of the *Norman* Writers.

This

This Gentleman had forgot, she sent away the more right Heirs, as I said before, to see Sun rise.

Honest *Stow* adher'd to the banish'd Line in *Hungary*. He gives a very sensible and rational Account of this Affair in the following manner.

* *Canute the Dane*, taking an occasion, because in the Covenant that was concluded concerning the dividing of the Realm, no Assurance was made for the Children of *Edmund*, he challeng'd all *England* to himself alone, by the Law, as they call it, of growing to; which was a most easie thing for him to do; because there was no Man that durst erect himself as Patron to defend the Childrens Right and Title; and by this subtle and crafty Interpretation of the Covenant, the *Dane* got the Monarchie of *England*, and sent the Brother of *Edmund*, and convey'd the Children, far away out of *England*, lest they should at any time be brought again to receive their Right.

I have been very copious in this Affair, and may seem to have lighted a Candle to the Sun, as not one English Historian supports the Right of *Canutus the Dane*; yet in clearing this matter, I had a double View: First, not only to demolish all Pretensions of the u-

* *Stow's Annals*, p. 1018.

surping *Dane* to *England*; and 2dly, to shew by this one Instance, the whole Series of our English Historians affected Hereditary Right; and that King *James* the First did not introduce novel Pretensions upon us, as he lineally descended from one of King * *Edmund's* Sons.

I conclude, if King *Ganute* was an Usurper, *Edward* the Confessor, by the Author of *Hereditary Right's* own Confession, could derive no Title from him.

Let us next examine, from whence his Title could come. Why, says † that Author, *The Issue of Edmund Ironside were at a great distance, their Condition and Circumstances utterly unknown. Besides, it was hardly possible, to give them notice of the Vacancy of the Throne, or receive their Answer in any reasonable time.*

Therefore, concludes he, considering the necessity of Affairs, *Edward* might justly take up him the Possession of the Throne.

From this Necessity, or, in other Words, Utility, he advances *Edward* into a Lawful and Hereditary Prince; justly filling the Throne in as compleat a manner, as his Nephews could, if they had been at home.

* *Edward.*

† *Hereditary Right*, p. 26.

And

And being thus establish'd, he could dispose of the Crown by Will, exclude the Nephews, and advance a *Norman* to the English Throne.

Great are the Powers of Necessity, I must confess; that it has no Law, I have heard; and upon that Proverb only we can build *Edward's* Title. But to say, that Necessity can give Law, is to me a new Opinion, contriv'd for the Ease of dignify'd Men in their Stalls.

The Absence of the Right Heir brought a Necessity upon the Kingdom to accept *Edward*, and this Objection remain'd a Bar to the Right Heir, when he was upon the spot, and the Necessity was taken away, says he. This Argument is a little deficient in point of Logick, and indeed, of common Sense. The Premises are the Foundation to support a Conclusion. But to raise Premises to form a Conclusion from; to take the Premises away, and to leave the Conclusion standing, is a Method often recurr'd to in Revolutions; but it will never agree with the common Elements of Reason.

That King *Edward* might fill a Throne, not his own, without being an Usurper, I readily grant; because he might act as a *Saxon Subregulus*, or little King, under the Shade of his Nephew's Title, as his secret Lieutenant; but this Subordination can never, against Right, grow into a complete supreme Power, and disannul the First.

Edward

Edward might think it too expensive to send to *Hungary* for the Right Heir ; and to save Charges, he stept in himself. It was an ill-tim'd Frugality : Right Heirs can never be bought too dear, nor Usurpers sold too cheap. This Frugality cost *England* her Liberty, and brought the *Norman* Invasion upon us.

Our Author says himself, *He that invades another's Right, with intention to detain it from him, and a Resolution never to restore it to the true Proprietor, is certainly guilty of the highest injustice.* And yet by a strange Contradiction he justifies the entire Exclusion of *Edward* and his Issue.

It is certainly very dangerous for Princes to travel : But when they are forc'd abroad, as *Edward* and his Brother *Edmund* were, it was very hard to make that amount to a full Legislative Exclusion, being sent away in their Minority by a Tyrant, and an Enemy to their whole Race.

Says our Author, * *The Authors, who have transmitted to us an Account of Edward's Reign say nothing upon this Subject, either that the Descendents of Edmund Ironside laid claim to the Crown, or that King Edward discover'd any inclinations to do them justice.* As he held the

* The universal Cry of all *English* Historians in his behalf, as the injur'd Heir, was a sufficient Attestation of his Claim ; and to deny that *K. Edward* discover'd any Inclinations to do him Justice, I have, and shall more fully prove to be false in Fact.

Crown

Crown only by virtue of the Necessity of the Times, and the Misfortune of his Nephew's being out of the Kingdom; And he never design'd to do them Justice, tho' his nearest Relations; He was certainly as great a Brute as King *John*. However, he afterwards confesses, King *Edward* did send for *Edward*, who dy'd immediately after his Arrival in *England*.

A new Necessity upon this occurs. *Edward's* Children were too young to accept a Kingdom in such ticklish Circumstances, as it was at that time: Therefore the Crown was to devolve to a *Norman*, who was more able, and more powerful to keep out *Earl Goodwin's* Children, than the poor Hereditary Minors.

If Hereditary Right must give way to Spite, to Prejudice, and to the Humour of a Person who had no Right himself; I have little more to say. If an Usurper, born in *England* was not preferable to an Usurper born abroad, it shews our Tastes were then too Foreign.

However, nothing yet said, could touch *Edward's* Hereditary Right: His Son was young; and some of our Historians affect to call him a Fool; yet his Folly was not so great, as to take away his natural Rights. Says our Author, after the Death of the Confessor, he forbore to challenge the Crown as his Right, or else made an absolute Surrender of it. In answer to this, let us exa-

mine

mine the *Scoti-Chronicon* of **John Fordun*. 'King
' *Edwardus* advancing in Years, having no
' Children himself, seeing the Family of *Good-*
' *win* increase in Power, he sent to the King
' of *Hungary*, and, as *Turgotus* says, to the Em-
' peror, that he would send the Son of his
' Brother *Edmund Ironside*, with all his Fami-
' ly, that either he or his Sons might succeed
' by their Hereditary Right, to the Kingdom
' of *England*.

' † After, says he, this *Edward* came to *Lon-*
' *don*, he d.y'd, leaving one Son, *Eadgar*, with
' his two Sisters, whom, as being next to the
' Kingdom, the King recommended him to
' the Peers.

* ' *Rex Edwardus* pronus in senium, eò quòd
' ipse non suscepit liberos, & *Godwini* viderat
' invalescere filios, misit ad Regem *Hunnorum*, sed
' *Turgotus* dicit, ad Imperatorem, ut filium sui
' fratris *Edmundi Ironside*, *Edwardum*, cum omni
' familiâ suâ, mitteret futurum, ut aut ille, aut filii
' sui succedant hæreditario jure regno *Angliæ*. *Ford.*
Chronic. l. 5. c. 11.

The same says *William of Malmesbury*.

† ' *Eadgaro* filio superstite cum sororibus præno-
' minatis, quem pro genere regno proximum, rex
' proceribus commendavit. *ib.*

Afterwards the Nobility would have chosen, or did
choose *Eadgar* for their King; and he was elected:
But the Bishops would not comply. *Episcopos non*
habebant assertores. See Fordun, ut supra.

N. B. The Word *Elected* does not here mean Ele-
cted by Vote, to make a Title; but *Recogniz'd*, as I
shall prove.

N. B. All this taken from *Fordun* was taken by him
from *Turgotus*, who liv'd in *Edward the Confessor's*
time, and afterwards:

If

If he was overlook'd, the more piteous was his Case. However, this contradicts the Donation to *Harold*, and proves that *Eadgar* had even the Testamentary Right, as well as the more noble one of Blood. He adds, that after *Harold's* Death, when the Conqueror was marching with a victorious Army to *London*, the Nobility would have adher'd to *Eadgar*; but the Bishops would not come in.

His Reflections upon the Conduct of the Clergy on these Occasions is so full for Hereditary Right, so weighty, and so strong, I must give 'em in all that Beauty and Strength to the Reader.

* ' In this, says he, I think they offended both against God and the People; against God, because they ought not to reject one, whom God had preferr'd to reign, deriv'd from the Blood of so many Kings, in the just Line of Generation; nor to deprive an innocent Man, with the Addition of sharp Reproaches, and envenom'd Tongues unjustly, of his just Patrimony; because his Royal State whether youthful, or more mature in Years, and

G 2

even

* ' Verum in hoc eos errasse mihi videtur, & apud Deum, & apud Populum; apud Deum, qui quam ipse geniturâ tantorum Regum progenitorum justâ generationis procreatum lineâ, regnandum prætulit, eis respuere non licuit, nec insontem, linguis, omni gladio præcutis, injustè justo privare PATRIMONIO, scientes quod aras regia vel puerilis, vel

‘ even Simplenefs it felf were not inconfiftent
 ‘ with the Fidelity and Obedience of his Sub-
 ‘ jects’. ‘ As to the People, they brought on
 ‘ eternal Scandal and Confufion upon the
 ‘ Natives of that Kingdom, by a Reproach
 ‘ never to be wiped out: They had, againft
 ‘ all Juftice, following their own Hearts, pre-
 ‘ ferr’d *Harold*, void of all Right, to go-
 ‘ vern †’.

This is really a very pathetic Remonftrance
 in behalf of *Edgar Atheling*; and if *Edgar* was
 fuch a Fool, as the Author of *Hereditary Right*
 makes him, it is an Argument ftill more ftrong

‘ vel fenilis, vel etiam fimplicitas in fidelitate con-
 ‘ stat, & regni& fubditorum. *Ford. Hift. l. 5. c. 11.*

‘ Apud populum verò cum in fuam propriam con-
 ‘ fufionem atque regni cunctorum indigenarum
 ‘ fempiternum opprobrium & fcandalum, non fe-
 ‘ cundum iudicium legis, fed cordis affectum lo-
 ‘ quentes, fupra fe virum erigunt omnis regnandi
 ‘ juris expertum Haraldum. *ib.*

† *Patrocinium*, inftead of *Patrimonium*, is in the
 old imperfct Edition of Dr. Gale’s, and in the
 Mff. which *Hearne* uſes: Tho’ the Emendation has
 Senſe and Connexion on its fide. And *Hearne* tells
 us in the Margin, that in the *Harleian* Manuſcript
 it is *Patrimonio*. Let me add, That in the *Cotton-*
Library the Word is plainly wrote in this manner,
prionio; as I can atteſt, who have ſeen it with my
 own Eyes, and took this Quotation therefrom, not
 long before the dreadful Conflagration; and I
 ſhew’d the Word to the Under Library-keeper, who
 can atteſt the ſame.

on our side. However, he ascribes this Report to Men, whose Tongues cut like a sharp Razor, to do mischief, all true *Doegites* to the bottom.

We see here the Misfortune of *Edward's* being sent away, is driven hard by the Author to vacate his Return; and the Folly of *Edgar* was to attaint the whole Family, tho' his Sister *Margaret* was a renown'd and celebrated Queen, and brought no Pools into the world.

Fordun proceeds to tell us, *Their malicious Tongues brought upon them the Curse of Banishment and Extermination*: For *William*, it seems, expell'd that lying Set of Nobility, whose Race had ly'd to *Canute*, and had wrong'd *Eadgar*.

* Therefore, says he, the Lord resolving that holy Line should reign, and possess the Earth, which he had sustain'd, and they deserted, happily engrafted it with the *Scotch* Race; and by his Providence for the future, sitting on the Royal Throne, may Kings issue out, and shall issue forth during his Pleasure. *Amen.*

* Igitur ipse Dominus illam sanctam regalem lineam se sustentem ab eis; sed non ab eo desertam tam hæreditare terram simul & regnare volens felici *Scotis* omine cum sua regali linea gratis conjunxit, ex quibus, eo providente, deinceps & hæcenus reges sedentes in solio pullulant reges, & usque quo sibi placuerit, pullulabunt. *ib.*

Moreover, the 16th Chapter of the *Scottish Chronicon* gives us so pathetic, so lively and so compassionate an Account of *Eadgar Atbeling's* Arrival in *Scotland*, I should be wanting to the Reader, or to the Honour of the *Scotch Nation*, to defraud him of it. The Chapter is so like the Shipwreck of *Aeneas*, I almost thought the Author borrow'd some Thoughts from *Virgil*. He takes his Narration from *Turgottus*, an * Author much more ancient than him †, tho' he liv'd at the time of the Deposition of *Richard the Second*. 'Edgar Atbeling perceiving the English Affairs too turbid, went on board a Ship, with his Mother and Sisters, to return to that Country in which he was born : But he who commands the Winds and Seas, stirr'd up

* Sub Edwardo nostro tertio aut Richardo secundo non quidem ambigendum est. *Seld. Pref. de Script. Anglic.*

† Fordun was born in the Year 1387. See *Hern's Pref. to Fordun*.

*Arma virumque cano Troja qui primus ab oris,
Italiam fato profugus Lavinaque venit
Litora. Virgil.*

Arms, and the Man I sing, who forc'd by Fate,
And haughty *Juno's* unrelenting Hate,
Expell'd and exil'd, left the *Trojan Shoar*.

Dryden's Translat.

the Sea *, and the Waves thereof †, the Tempest encreasing, and all in the utmost Despair of Life, they commend themselves to God, and the Ship to the Sea. Therefore after many great Dangers and Labours, the Lord had Compassion on that desolate Family: For where Human Help is wanting, Heaven is always ready; after being sha-

* ——— *Cavum conversa cuspide montem
Impulit in latus, ac venti velut agmine facto.
Qua data porta ruunt, & terras turbine perflant,
Incubere mari, totamque à sedibus imis,
Una Eurus Notusque ruunt creberque procellis
Africus; & vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.*

Virgil.

He said; and hurl'd against the Mountain-Side,
His quiv'ring Spear, and all the God apply'd.
The raging Winds rush thro' the hollow Wound,
And dance aloft in Air, and skim the hollow Ground.
Then setting on the Sea, the Surges sweep,
Raise liquid Mountains, and disclose the Deep.
South, East and West with mixt Confusion roar,
And rowl the foaming Billows to the Shoar.

Dryden's Translat.

† *Præsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem,
Extemplo Aeneæ volvuntur frigore membra.
Ingemit, duplices tendens ad sidera palmas.*

Virg.

The Sea of Things a frightful Image bears,
And present Death in various Forms appears.
Struck with unusual Frighr, the Trojan Chief
With lifted Hands and Eyes, invokes Relief.

Dryden.

ken

ken by many Dangers of the Sea, they were
 forc'd upon the *Scotch Shore* ||. The holy
 Family came to a Bay, called since by the
 Inhabitants, *St. Margaret's Bay*. Neither
 did this happen, but by the particu-
 lar Providence of God *, the Family re-
 maining in the said Bay, expecting with
 Pain the Issue of their Fate † ; their com-

|| *Stagna refusa vadis sensit Neptunus ab imis,
 Prospiciens summa, placidum caput extulit unda.*

Virgil.

Mean time imperial Neptune heard the Sound
 Of raging Billows breaking on the Ground ;
 Displeas'd, and fearing for his wa'try Reign,
 He rear'd his awful Head above the Main.

Dryden.

* *Defessi Aeneadae, quæ proxima litora cursu
 Contendunt petere & Libya vertuntur ad oras.
 Est in secessu longo locus, insula portum.
 Efficit, objectu laterum —*

Virgil.

The weary Trojans ply their shatter'd Oars,
 Stood nearest Land, and make the *Libyan Shores*.
 Within a long Recess there lies a Bay,
 An Island shades it from the rowling Sea ;
 And forms a Port, secure for Ships to ride,
 Broke by the Jutting Land on either side.

Dryden.

— — — † *Curisque ingentibus æger.
 Spem vultu simulat premit altum corde dolorem.*

Virgil.

These Words he spake ; but spoke not from his
 Heart :

His outward Smiles conceal'd his inward Smart.

Dryden.

ing

ing was told to King *Malcolm*, who from
 an Height not far off, seeing them, sent
 Messengers to be inform'd how the Matter
 was. They viewing a Ship of unusual bigness
 lie there, made haste, to tell the King
 what they had seen : Upon which, the
 King sent some of his wisest Nobles, and
 greatest Men towards them. They being
 receiv'd, as became the Characters of Mes-
 sengers from a Sovereign Prince, and ta-
 ken with the Stoutness of the Men, the
 Beauty of the Women, and the Oeconomy
 of the whole Family, began to converse with
 Freedom and Ease, enquiring into every
 step of that strange Event ; * they, as
 Strangers and Guests, plainly open'd the
 whole Case in a simple, eloquent and mo-
 dest manner. When the Messengers came
 back, and had given the King an Account

* *O regina novam, cui condere Jupiter urbem
 Justitiâque dedit gentes frænare superbas
 Troes se miseri ventis maria omnia vesti,
 Oramus, Prohibe infandos à navibus ignes.*

Virgil.

O Queen ! Indulg'd by Favour of the Gods,
 To found an Empire in these new Abodes,
 To build a Town, with Statutes to restrain
 The wild Inhabitants beneath thy Reign;
 We wretched *Trojans*, toss'd on ev'ry Shore,
 From Sea, to Sea thy Clemency implore,
 Forbid the Fires our Shipping to deface.

Dryden.

' of what they had seen ; the Reverence of the
 ' Aged, the Prudence of the young Men, the
 ' Discretion of the Matrons, and the Beauty
 ' of the young Ladies ; A certain Gentleman
 ' added, he had seen one, from the rest, so in-
 ' comparably fair, so pleasant, and so agreea-
 ' ably talkative, with so many superiour Vir-
 ' tues, she could be no less than the Queen of
 ' that Noble Family. In short, her Beauty
 ' and Goodness are beyond my Flights of Fancy
 ' to describe. No wonder they call'd her *Queen*;
 ' who was to be their Queen, and after her Bro-
 ' ther, was destin'd by Providence to be Heiress
 ' of all *England*. The King hearing they were
 ' *English* *, came to them in Person, enquir'd

— — — *Coram quem quæritis adsum*
Troius Æneas. Libycis ereptus ab undis:
O sola infandæ Trojæ miserata labores.
Quæ nos reliquias Danaum terræque marisque
Omnibus exhaustos, jam Casibus omnium egenos,
Urbe domo i socias. Virgil.

He, whom ye seek, am I, by Tempests tost,
 And sav'd from Shipwreck on the *Libyan* Coast,
 Presenting, gracious Queen, before your Throne,
 A Prince, that owes his Life to you alone.
 Fair Majesty, the Refuge and Distress
 Of those, whom Fate pursues, and Wars oppress.
 You, who your pious Offices employ,
 Save us, the Reliques of abandon'd *Troy*.
 Receive the Shipwreck'd on your friendly Shore ;
 With hospitable Rites relieve the Poor.
 Associate in your Town a wandering Train,
 And Strangers in your Palace entertain.

from

‘ whence they came, and whither they were
 ‘ going : For he could speak *English*, and
 ‘ *Latin* very well, as his own Native Lan-
 ‘ guage, he having been fifteen Years in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* after his Father’s Death, and had heard
 ‘ something of this Family there. See *Fordun’s*
Scoti-Chronicon, lib. 5. c. 15.

In short, *Malcolm* fell in love with *Margaret*,
Edgar’s Sister, and he married her ; from
 whence Truth and Justice took root again in
England. *Edgar* stay’d in *Scotland*, and liv’d
 to see the Chief of those Clergy, who oppos’d
 his being King, come to take Refuge there, and
 to commence strict Nonjurors. *William* the
Conqueror finish’d the Extirpation *Canute* be-
 gan : So just and sure are the Judgments of
 God in the End, however Men despise That
 Power unseen, which governs the World.

Moreover, I observe, as to *Edgar’s* very
 extreme Weakness, and Incapacity to govern,
 in the next Chapter, *Fordun* tells us, ‘ He
 ‘ brought great Riches with him to *Scotland*,
 ‘ having acquir’d accumulated Wealth in the
 ‘ East, and at home, having brought Riches,
 ‘ as Heir to *Edward the Confessor*’ ; which con-
 firms *Edward’s* good Intentions towards him,
 that he would trust him with his Estate : Tho’
 our Author, from *William of Malmesbury*, would
 prove him a Fool, for selling an Annuity for a
 Horse. See p. 30. If I had been an injur’d
 Heir, I would have sold five times as much

for an Horse ; and would have mounted that Horse, and made my just Fortunes, or my Grave with him.

We find, the slight Expressions in our Historians concerning *Edgar Atheling* are only the embalm'd Spite of those violent Tongues, *Linguae omni gladio præcutæ*, mention'd by *Fordun*, on whom the Judgment of God fell.

Our Evidence for this noble Piece of History is more valuable than ten, temporizing English Historians : For *Fordun* takes it from *Turgotus*, of whom * *Simeon Dunelmensis* gives this Account, ' That he was an Englishman of very good Extraction ; that he was kept by the Normans in the Castle of *Lincoln* as an Hostage for the whole District of *Lyndsey* ; he made his Escape into *Norway*, and was afterwards, by the Interest of *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, Son to this very *Margaret*, made a Bishop in *Scotland*'. So that he was a contemporary Evidence during the whole Life of *Eadgar Atheling*. He was a Person of great Note in the time of *Edward the Confessor*, and consequently no Stranger to the Transactions of that Court. And, considering his Reputation is as fair as any Man's of that Age, for all the Virtues that adorn the Priestly Character, he is an admirable Evidence, that *Ed-*

* *Simeon Dunelmensis*, 1073. *Turgotus* dy'd in the Year 1115.

ward the Confessor recommended Edgar as a King upon his Death-bed ; and I am afraid, was little more a Knave than *Edgar Atheling* was a Fool *.

I leave the World to judge, if my Evidences in behalf of *Edgar Atheling* are not much more noble, than the paultry Historian-Mongrels, half *Normans* and half *English*, who wrote against him.

We find here, the Layty were for *Edgar Atheling*, and the Bishops were against him. The reason why those great Examples of Piety, those burning Lights were snuff'd by † *Harold* and *William the Conqueror*, is, the Oil that fed those Lamps, was gross stinking Oil, that afforded neither proper Light nor Smell to the Church ; and therefore they were justly extinguish'd.

‡ The Author here quotes *Ordericus Vitalis*, (who who was just born, when *Turgotus* flourish'd,) in as fair a manner as the preceding one. Concerning the Convention with *Cannute* : he says, ' *Edgar Atheling* would not resist ' being distrustful, and submitted to *William*

* See *Selden's Pref. ad Script. Angl.*

Buchanan says, *Edward the Confessor* offer'd *Edgar* the Crown, and he refused to take it before his Uncle's Death. See B. 7. 81. R. *Milcolumb. fol. 75.*

† *An. 1075. Vide Du Chesne, Pref. ad Norm. Script.*

‡ See *Hereditary Rights*, p. 34.

‘*the Conqueror*’; he leaves out the middle Part of the Quotation, ‘*That Edgar Atheling*’ was constituted King by the *English*’; because it would destroy all he had said before, to make *Edward the Confessor* reject him as a Changeling. The Quotation is thus; * ‘*Edgar Atheling* being constituted King by the *English*, distrustful of Resistance, humbly submitted himself and Kingdom to *William*; But, as he was a meek, honest Lad, Cousin-German to *Edward the Great*, being his Nephew’s Son, he was amicably embraced, and all his Life honour’d as a Son.

Ordericus Vitalis was curtail’d by this Author; because he spoke well of *Edgar*, and call’d him *King*. As to the latter Part of this Relation, it is certainly wrong; because *Edgar* was oblig’d to go to *Scotland*, as all Historians agree.

* ‘*Edgarus Athelinus, qui Rex fuerat constitutus ab Anglis, restitute diffidens, humiliter Guilielmo se regnumque contulit; ille vero, quia idem puer mitis & sincerus erat, & Consobrinus Edwardi magni, filius scilicet Nepotis ejus erat, amicabiliter eum amplexatus est, & omni vita sua honorabiliter veneratus est. Orderic. Vital. p. 503.*

A little after, he gives a little more, endeavouring to impose upon the Reader One Quotation for Two different ones; and there, how ’tis chang’d and alter’d, the Reader may see before him.

I shall corroborate what I have said concerning *Edgar's* being look'd upon as King, from a very extraordinary Passage in the * *Saxon Chronicle*, 1066 : ' *Edward the Confessor* had given by ' the Intercession of *Leofrank*, to the Monastery of *Peterborough*, the Abbies of *Byrtune* ' *Burton upon Trent*) *Coventry*, *Croyland* and ' *Eborney* : Upon this Invasion of the Conqueror, I suppose, King *Edward* not having ' confirm'd the Charter of Donation, the ' Monks chose one *Brand* for their Abbot, ' and sent him to *Edgar Atheling*, supposing ' he would be King, to confirm the Donation ; which he willingly did. When *William* ' heard this, he was very angry, and said, ' the Abbot had neglected him. But, upon ' Submission, a Peace was made, and they ' paid Forty Marks of Gold, by way of Satisfaction †.

We find here, whom the People look'd upon as their King ; and, I suppose, they thought either that *William the Conqueror* came to dethrone *Harold*, and set up *Edgar* ; or, that *Edgar* would be able to stand his ground. That he design'd it, is plain, by his performing this Regal Act.

* *Saxon Chron.* p. 173.

† *Dugdale*, for want of this *Saxon Chronicle* (for *Wheelock's* does not extend so far) has nothing of this in his *Monasticon*, that I can find.

From

From what has been said, I may safely conclude, *Edgar* was not such a Fool, as immediately to resign to *William*; nor did the People think him attainted for his Folly, and his whole Family set aside for that Attainder, as our Author would persuade us.

The *Chronicon* tells us, he went the next Year into *Scotland*, with one *Mærleswegen*, a Saxon Nobleman (I suppose, in those times a Nonjuror) with many others. This relates to his Reception, before mention'd by *Turgotus*.

* In the Year 1074, says the *Chronicon*, He went into *Normandy* from *Scotland*, to make his Submission to *William the Conqueror*.

In the Year 1085, says the *Chronicon*, *Eadgar* left the Part of *William*, because he was neglected: But, says the † *Chronicon*, the omnipotent God gave him Honour to Posterity. A tender Expression of Loyalty and Affection this, for the poor Prince.

* He invaded *England* the next Year, and was receiv'd into *Tork*, tho' drove out again by the Conqueror. Concerning his Valour and Activity there, see *Hollinshed ad an. 1068*.

|| *Chron. p. 182. 10.*

† *Chron. p. 187. 23.*

‡ In the Year 1091, he was depriv'd of the Lands given him by *Robert*, *William's* Son, in *Normandy*; and he went into *Scotland* to his Sister in the same Year, and upon a Peace made with *Malcolm*, King of *Scotland*, he submitted again.

† In the Year 1097, this Changeling, as our Author affects to call *Edgar*, marched with an English Army, by express Leave from *William Rufus*, into *Scotland*, to depose the Usurper *Duncan*, and to settle his Nephew *Eadgar* upon the Throne, which he did.

In the Year 1106, we find him acting against *Henry* the First, on the Side of *Robert*, Earl of *Normandy*, and taken Prisoner.

Thus far the *Chronicon*.

The Interval from the Restoration of *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, perform'd under his Conduct is fill'd up by other Historians. * *William* of *Malmesbury*, who affects to use him ill, says, ' he went a Voyage to the Holy Land, in the ' Year that *Baldwin* was besieg'd in *Rama*, i.e. in ' the Year 1101, viz. four Years after the ' *Scotch* Expedition. From thence he went to

‡ Reign of *William Rufus*. Chron. p. 197, 22.

† *Buchanan* calls *Edgar Atheling*, an Excellent Man. See *Scot. l. 7. Dun. 87. R.*

|| Chron. 214. 19.

* *Will. Malmesb. Lib. 3.*

†

visit

visit the Emperors of *Constantinople* and *Germany*, who affected to retain him with 'em, upon account of his Family'. And, says *Malmesbury*, 'The Sweetness of his native Soil enticed him home again'. *Malmesbury* was mistaken; it was *Dulcedo Hereditarii juris*, the noble incentive to recover his Right, call'd him home.

I cannot find, that he ever affected to be quiet long. Fool as he was, when he came into *Normandy*, * *Malmesbury* in the same Paragraph says, 'William was glad to see him there, that *England* might be free from that Inciter of Wars.

I shall conclude this Account of *Edgar Atheling*, That upon *William* the Conqueror's Usurpation, Numbers of strict Men, who would not, I suppose, take the Oaths, went to *Constantinople*, and were made Guards to the Emperor's Palace. The Account given of them by † *Anna Commena*, is so much for the Honour of the English Nation, I shall give it in its full Length.

* *Ut incentore Bellorum Anglia vacaret.*

† *Anna Comena* was Daughter to this Emperor, and her Life of her Father, wrote by her self, has a Reputation equal to any of the *Byzantine* Historians.

Alexius Comnenus, in order to depose *Nicephorus Botoniates*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, sent *Cæsar Ducas*, in the Habit of a Monk, to spy the City of *Constantinople*, and to return an Account how it was defended. He brought back word, that one Part was defended by the † *Barangi*, * that to attempt them with Treachery, was impracticable, for the following Reasons.

‡ ‘ Those *Bipenniferi*, or Battle-axe Soldiers
‘ adhering firmly to the Traditions of their
‘ Country, think, Faith to the Emperors to be
‘ their Hereditary Portion and Inheritance;
‘ and having the Custody of their Bodies, what
‘ has been hereditarily deliver’d to them
‘ they inviolably adhere to.

Μὴτὲ τοῖς Βαργυνοῖς ἐμβαλλεῖν, ib.

Ne aggredi *Barangos*, i. e. *Anglos*. See *Nicetas Choniates*, & *Fobroti Glossarium*, ad Verb. *Ἰνκλινοὶ* & *Βαργυνοὶ*.

* Those *Barangi* from *Thule*, or *England*, are *Barbarians*, arm’d with Axes. See *Anna Commena Alexiadis*, lib. 2. 1081.

‡ Οἱ δὲ γε ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τὰ ξίον κερδαίνοντες πάτερον παρὰδοσιν, ἢ οἰόνται, παρκαταθήκην τινὰ ἢ κληρονομίαν εἰς τὰς αὐτοκρατορίας πείν, ἢ τὴν αὐτῷ σωματὸν αὐτῶν φυλακὴν ἀλλὰς ἐξ ἄλλης διαδεχόμενοι τὴν πατρὸς αὐτῶν πείν ἀκράδοντες, διατηροῦσι. ib.

i. e. In other Wnrd. As they brought the Notion of Hereditary Right with them, they think Fidelity ought to be Hereditary likewise; and the Doctrine they brought with them, and learn’d from their Fathers, they adhere to here.

No Emperor could certainly be more happy than with such Guards.

Thus I have reduc'd my Argument within a short Compass. The Reader may have a clear and distinct View of the Whole. *Cannute* is prov'd by the unanimous Consent of all our Historians, an Usurper ; and *Edward* the Confessor's assuming the Government, under pretence of Necessity, is the only Foundation of any Title, except that of Conquest, that can be given to *William*.

I will not be so harsh to *Edward*, as not to allow, that for the publick Utility he might exercise a temporary Government, till it was practicable to bring the Royal Family back : Yet this unhappy Circumstance could not Attaint them. Moreover, as *Edward* enter'd the Kingdom by the Power of the *Danish* Faction, it is not possible for us at this Distance of time, to know whether he could, or durst venture to restore them. The open way was, perhaps, impracticable ; and therefore he softly whisper'd to the Nobles, he wish'd *Edgar* was their King. Yet this can only suppose a State of Violence, to which *Edward* was forc'd to submit : Yet Violence can found no Right. Violence cannot attaint, or remove the Pretensions of the Right Heir.

As to *Edward's* Donation of the Kingdom, it could be no free Act ; and if free, it could not be valid.

As to the Attainting of the whole Family, because *Edgar* was a Fool, I have drawn out the Lineaments of his Life, and have brought him several times into the Field, beating the *Scotch* Rebels, marching to *York*, and putting *William* to a stand. I have shew'd, that he was never quiet, till old Age and grey Hairs laid the Activity of his Genius : In short, that he was a gallant, brave, good Prince, respected by the Emperors of both the East and West abroad ; That he carried his Arms to the Holy Land ; That he was dear to *Robert*, Earl of *Normandy*, *William* the Conqueror's Son ; and was universally belov'd, except by the spiteful *Anglo-Normanical* Historians : That his Memory, and the Memory of all English Princes suffering in that manner ought to be dear to us.

I could here proceed to enlarge upon the pretended Donations of *Edward* to *William*, and to *Harold*. The latter I have already confuted ; and as to the First, till we can find a better Title for *Edward*, it is not worth spending more time to insist upon : And here I shall conclude my First Part, concerning the universally receiv'd Notion of Hereditary Right and the perfect History thereof, from *Cerdic*, the first *West Saxon* King, to *Edgar Atheling*.

I am glad I have been so far fortunate, in doing Justice to that Family.

Thus I end my First Part. My next shall treat of the Succession of the same Line, to the STUARTS; and I hope, the Reader will make good use of what he has before him; till I am ready with the Second, I take leave.



The Recapitulation

THUS I have brought the First Part of my Discourse to a Period. It remains, that I should acquaint the Reader, what Application he may make, and what Benefit he may receive therefrom: Otherwise, perhaps, a dry Genealogy of *Saxon* Kings, so long ago buried, may choak him.

First, My Scope is, to shew, That English Hereditary Right has the Plea of immemorial Custom on its side.

Custom, when it can be prov'd to have any Right at all, is a very strong Law. And though Wickedness, Violence, and Oppression have all the Practice of Custom on their side; yet all that Establishment can never give them the Sanction of Laws: Because there can be no Prescription against the eternal Laws of God. But Custom founded upon Right, can have no Objection of that nature; and therefore it may be a firm and obligatory Law.

Custom

Custom, I grant, is no more than the Will of our Ancestors, manifested by the Monuments set up of Practice, acquiesc'd in by that Set of Men, who have a Power to bestow, or honest and clear Hearts, intent to recognize those Rights.

Therefore, as the World is divided into two sorts of Men, the Wicked and the Good, I form no Notion of Right from the Practice of Wicked Men: But I take my Rule of Justice from the Good; and tho' I am forced to look out for them in some Ages with a Candle and Lantern, like *Diogenes*, at Noon-day, I can find Testimonies enough to light up for Justice in the most degenerate Age.

How far the Will of our Ancestors can oblige, are other Words for this Question, *What is the Obligation of Custom?*

All our English Property is founded upon Custom: No Englishman has a Foot of *Aboriginal* Land in *England*; all is deriv'd from the Customs of Tenures, or from the Will of some Lord from the time of *William* the Conqueror, at least. Therefore Custom in private Property binds and runs thro' unnumber'd Generations, and was the Day of Judgment delay'd by the Decree of God, 40000 Years, our Lands, without such another Conquest, and the Intervention of Acts of Parliament, would carry all the Marks of that Conqueror with them to that Day, and be distinguish'd by the same Tenures they

they are at this time ; none but Parliamentary Conveyances can sink or obliterate the mighty Powers of that *Custom*, which is no more than the Will of our Ancestors.

The Right to a Crown may be carry'd up higher still. As to Lands, we are oblig'd to acquiesce in the Customs impos'd upon us by that cruel Conqueror ; because all our Claims there to from more ancient Customs are lost. But as to the Crown, this Historical Essay carries up the Custom higher than *William* the Conqueror, and independent of him, to the Will of *Cerdic*, who flourish'd five hundred and seventy one Years before him.

My Scope therefore is to prove by this Essay, That the Right to the Crown of *England* was a Progressive Property, as to the general Course thereof. How far it may be turn'd aside by the supreme Power, is not the Subject of my Enquiry here. Bodies of Men, who can hang, draw and quarter, have determin'd that already to my hands.

This Progression is, for the most part, an Hereditary Progression, as Estates are, unalienated in their natural Course.

The Author of *Hereditary Right* says, *Kings by their Testaments can turn aside this Progression* : If so, *a fortiore*, Kings, Lords and Commons can certainly do it in a more indisputed manner. But as to the Testamentary Power, it is a metaphysical Power, in a great measure, to the

K Times

Times in which I terminate the First Part of this Historical Essay ; because it was never recurr'd to in Fact, unless we trump up *Edmund's* pretended Donation to *Canute*, *Edward* the Confessor's crazy Title, and *Ælfrides's* Donation to *Æthelstan*, whom I have strong Reasons to presume, was the eldest legitimate Son, without that Will.

If we look into my *Saxon* Scheme, the wicked Practice of the World stopp'd that regular Progression, in *Ceawlinus* ; it stopp'd it afterwards from *Ceadwalla's* Death, by the Usurpation of *Ina*, *Æthelheard*, &c. to *Egbert* ; and so on to *William* the Conqueror's Days there were some violent Snatches and Twitches : Yet from all these we may observe, that good Men kept up the Testimony of this Hereditary Progression, presuming upon Custom, and the Will of their Ancestors, to have this Right take place.

I have begun with *Cerdic*, the first King of the *West Saxons* ; and have concluded this First Part with *Edgar Atheling*, whom I am neither ashamed nor afraid to place in my *Saxon* Scheme as King. So that I may be said to be the first, who has restor'd him to his just Rights.

My Scope is, to prove, that all the rectilineal Kings from *Cerdic* to *Edgar*, claim'd the Crown by Descent from him, without any Dependence upon *Wittenagamottes* or Election; That this Kingdom was not in those Times Elective, after the manner of the Empire of *Germany*; but our Kings, in Fact, enter'd upon Possession by virtue of their Right in Blood.

Rapin, indeed, whose Assurance was much superiour to his Fidelity, tells us, the *Saxons* had no Kings before they came into *England*; 'that they were like the States of *Holland*, consisting of Twelve Provinces, govern'd by an Assembly-General, wherein the supreme Power was lodg'd, who made and constituted Generals at their pleasure'. See his *Dissertation upon the Government of the Anglo-Saxons*.

A Man might reasonably have expected from so great and particular a Discovery, some Author, some Testimony, bearing date at least, an Hour before *Rapin* was born: But this Gentleman had nothing less in his Thoughts, than to give us Proofs, his Antiquity is all Romance, and his History Lies. This Commonwealth he transports from *Germany* in the same Ships with *Hengist* and *Cerdic*. The *Wittenagamotes* were put into the Ships Hold, spewing their Hearts out, till they got upon the English Shore, and were carefully preserv'd afterwards, to breed absolute and uncontrollable Parliaments from.

Lo, this is the Republican Title to all the deposing Doctrines of the Age. Yet,

After all, the Word *Wittenagamotte* was never heard of in *Old Saxony*. The Division of the *Saxons* was into Three Parts, the *Old Saxons*, the *English*, and the *Jutes*; and more of that People we know not, as to their Provinces and Districts.

Moreover, the *Saxons*, if we consult *Wolfgangus Lazius*, that excellent German Antiquarian, mention'd with so much Honour by *Fabricius Cbemonicensis*, the *Marcomanni*, who had Kings long before the Name of *Goths* was heard of, invaded that Part of *Saxony*, from whom we had our second-hand Visit; and they peopled the Country with their own Nation, and furnish'd them with Kings descended from *Maroboduus*, mention'd by *Tacitus*; of whom *Creoda*, King of *Mercia*, was one, who form'd a great Monarchy in *England*. It is therefore a most scandalous Imposition upon the World, cruelly to affirm, that the *Saxons* were Commonwealths-men.

Besides, if we take a View from the *Saxon Chronicle*, of all the Heptarchical *Saxon* Kings, we shall find, the Chief deriv'd their Original from *Woden*, who was a mighty Prince, or his Name would be to very little purpose so often recorded by *Bede*, and by this excellent Chronicle.

Hengist

Hengist, the Founder of the *Kentish* Monarchy, descended from *Whitgilfus*, &c. up to *Woden*. See the Chronicle, *An. 455*.

Cerdic, the Founder of the *West Saxon* Monarchy came from *Elesa*, &c. up to *Woden*. See Chron. *An. 495*.

Ida founded the Kingdom of the *Northumbrians*, who came from *Eoppa*, and up to *Woden*. See Chron. 547.

Ælla took the *Northumbrian* Kingdom after *Ida*. He was the Son of *Tffus*, up to *Woden*. See Chron. *an. 560*.

Creoda, King of *Mercia*, was the Son of *Wybba* up to *Woden*. See Chron. *An. 626*.

Most of our Historians think, that this *Woden* was the same, who by the *Saxons* was worshipped as a God. However, I disagree from 'em in that Particular : Yet they all agree, he was a mighty Prince. *Bede* says, he was the Father of the Royal *Saxon* Lineage in *England*. *Ethelredus Abbas* calls him the King of the Barbarians. *Fabricius Chemnicensis* calls him *Bodo* (he descended from *Maroboduus*, as I take it) and says, he was the most ancient King of the *Saxons*. See *Fab. lib. i. p. 11*.

Ethelredus Abbas, who addresses himself to *Henry II*, says, the Great Grandfather of *Cerdic*, *Gewis* (who descended likewise from *Woden*,) was the Head of his People, who were afterwards called *Gevissians* ; which was the common Appellation of the *West Saxons*, after their Settlement in *England*. I

I conclude, that the *German* Authors, as *Fab-
ricius*, *Verstegan*, and many more, who speak
of *Saxony* so particularly, and divide it into
Twelve Commonwealths, cannot, without the
greatest Absurdity, ascribe it to the early Ages
before the *Saxons* came over ; but to the Times
afterwards, to *Charles the Great* : For all the
Family came into *Britain*, and divided it among
themselves : Nay, the *English* Division, as the
Saxon Chronicle informs us, *An. 449*, was
left entirely empty. Therefore, as those Coun-
tries were fill'd up afterwards, left without Go-
vernment, and without Laws, they might settle
into wild Commonwealths, and into the Forms
Fabricius speaks of. This has no relation to
their Monarchical Form, when they came into
England.

Thus therefore I have cut the Whigs off
from a great deal of trouble, in investigating
the *Goths* Forms of Government before the
Saxon Conquest ; because those *Saxons* were
really true Monarchical *Hungarians*, and were
neither *Goths*, nor like *Goths*.

They must for the future contract their
Scheme ; they must not go up so high as *Ta-
citus*, nor come down so low as after the *Saxon*
Invasion ; at which time all the Royal Family
ran over to *England*, and did not think their na-
tive Country worth their Thoughts or Care.

This

This accounts for the numerous Settlement of *Woden's* Posterity in the *Saxon* Heptarchy ; and we hear no more of that Posterity in *Saxony* afterwards : In whose Places first came wild Beasts, and then Men. It was like *Samaria* ; the Men were not numerous enough to master the Lions and the Bears.

Surely, when we find so many great *Saxon* Kings descend from *Woden*, we cannot imagine this hapned by mere Chance, That Commonwealths should all conspire to send over the direct Descendants of *Woden* ; and that this *Woden* should be only some little Servant of theirs, is highly improbable : And I dare say, no learned Man will believe it.

Here are all the signs of a Monarchy, and of a compleat Monarchy, over all the Three Divisions of the *Saxons* : And I think, it is beyond dispute, that the Founders of the *Mercian*, *Northumbrian*, *West Saxon* and *Kentish* Monarchies were far from Commonwealthsmen, being all of one Stock and Lineage, as *Saxon Chronicle* says, All our Royal Kindred comes from *Woden*. See P. 13. l. 12.

As for the Conjectures about *Wittenagamotes*, That the *Saxon* Kings might have Courts to advise with, concerning Laws, I may grant ; but their Predecessorship to our Parliaments, I must dispute : And I shall endeavour to prove that they were, and are intirely independent of each other. But as to the general *Wittenagamote*

mote, during the *Saxon* Heptarchy, it is as ar-
rant a Chimera, as the Story of Fairies. 'Tis
pretended, this general *Wittenagamote* met to
make *Ina* King; which, (as I observ'd before)
was to set aside *Oswald Clito*, or his Father, the
next in Blood. 'Tis very strange, the *Saxon*
Chronicle should take no notice of this celebrated
Meeting; tho' if true, 'tis far from being an
Argument for Subjects to depose or set aside
their Kings. They are as distinct as a Foreign
Invasion is from an in-born Rebellion.

But our *Rapin*, in his First Volume, concer-
ning the Kings of *Wesssex*, tells this Story, and
pursues it afterwards in his Second, concerning
the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and
quotes *Affer Menevensis*, who has not a Word
about the matter. In all the Historians in my
hands, I can find nothing more of *Ina*, than
what *Malmesbury* has said before: And if it
was true, that the Kings met, and plac'd *Ina*
upon the Throne, it was a Foreign Transaction;
tho' indeed, the whole Story is a Fiction. As
for the Charter of *Ingulphus*, from *Whitglapth*,
King of *Mercia*, which is said to be in the Pre-
sence of *Egbert*, King of the West Saxons, of
Ethelwulph, his Son, and of the Bishops and
Great Lords of England assembled at London.
See *Rapin*, Vol. 2 p. 162. I observe, *Ingulphus*
Croylandensis tells us, it was in the Year 833
the 33d of *Egbert's* Reign, which was six
Years, according to the Chronicle, after he had
subdu'd

subdu'd all *England*. This *Witglaph*, King of *Mercia*, by the Conquest of that Kingdom, was made a Vassal to *Egbert*: Nor was there one Corner of *England* unsubdu'd by *Egbert*, long before the signing of this Charter. And therefore this does not prove, that the Heptarchy had a General Assembly to govern the Whole.

Nor is the Word *Wittenagamote* so much as us'd. The Preamble of the Charter, as we have it from *Ingulphus*, runs, 'That the Bishops, Nobles, and chief Men of *England* met at *London* to advise how to suppress the *Danes*. So that it was more like a Council of War than a *Wittenagamote*: For Bishops in those Days, and since, have been too often concern'd in fiery Councils of that nature.

Having thus taken off the Edge of *Rapin's* Reflections upon the Government of the English Saxons, I shall now carry the Reader on to the Recapitulation of the preceding Work.

Cedwalla, the Descendant of the Great *Cearwlinus*, who (the *Saxon Chronicle* says, conquer'd all *England*) began to contend for the Kingdom, says the Chronicle, *An. 685*. *Rapin* obscures this Glorious Restoration, as tho' he ow'd a Spleen to every thing like it.

First, says he (see Vol. i. p. 207.) *Cedric* a Prince of the Blood-Royal of Wessex, gain'd the Affections of the People, that the King, being jealous of him, order'd him to depart from the Kingdom.

He does not let us into the Secret, that *Edmund* was the next in Blood from *Cedric*, which I have already prov'd he was.

Secondly, He makes his Working up the Affections of the People, to steal their King from *Centwinus*, their establish'd King, to have been the Cause of his Banishment.

Whereas *Malmesbury* gives this Relation a more noble Turn. He says, *Efficiacibus* *is* *bilem principum patriæ suæ, irritasset*; *efficacious Applications he rais'd the Choler of the Princes of his Country.* Choler proceeds from a wicked Principle. They were cholerick, because he look'd after his just Title, as will appear afterwards.

Thirdly, says *Rapin*, 'Upon his being banish'd, a great many young People follow'd him, with whom he rais'd an Army.'

Says *William of Malmesbury*, 'He took the military Force with him; all the young Men, who could bear Arms; out of Commiseration of his hard Fate, or to his Virtues, follow'd him.'

Fourthly, says Rapin, ' Whilst this was doing, Centwin happening to die, Cedwalla was placed on the Throne.

William of Malmesbury tells us, That suddenly returning from his Southern Expedition, *mature insperatoque reditu*, By his timely and unexpected Return, *emulos potentie adortus regno abegit*, He fell upon the Rivals of his Power, and drove them out of the Kingdom.

To this we may add from the Saxon Chronicle, *That in this Year he began to contend for the Kingdom.*

There is no room to suppose, that he came in otherwise than by his Hereditary Title.

If we carry on further our View of the Saxon History, Egbert came in afterwards upon the same Title. He was a Favourite of Malmesbury's, upon the account of his Pretensions to the Throne. He was cherish'd in Exile abroad, and more joyfully receiv'd upon his Return.

I observe, the West Saxon Monarchy was always upon the Decay, under the usurping Lines: They were a Prey to their Enemies, a Mourning to their Friends, and a Derision to all about them. When the Right Line was restor'd, they prov'd a conquering and a glorious People, for the most part.

If we carry on our View farther, to the *Danish* Conquest, we have all the Evidence the nature of our Dispute is capable of, that the Crown of *England* was Hereditary. The Partition-Treaty it self was done without any Confirmation of Parliaments, or *Wittenagamotes*; and the Questions ask'd by *Canute*, when he call'd all the Lords and Bishops together, shew, that neither he, nor they had other Notions of the Devolution of the Crown of *England* than *Ironside's* Power, to divide, or give away the Whole. *Canute* never ask'd that Convention to be made King: He took it by virtue of a pretended Donation from *Edmund*.

When we come to *Edgar Atbeling*, the Election of *Harold* was despis'd by all good Men. *Turgottus*, a Nobleman in *Edward's* Court, look'd upon *Edgar* as King, and call'd the Kingdom his Patrimony. If so, he could not be elected; because Patrimony is a Possession, descending from Father to Son, or to the nearest Heir. From *Edgar's* Blood, *i.e.* from his Sister *Margaret*, proceeded the Patrimonial Claim of King *James* the First; whose Title, like a mighty Water, took all the lesser Streams into its Bosom.

To form therefore a true Notion of the English Constitution, all our Laws, and the Internal Parts of that Constitution are cast in the Model of the *Norman* Conquest. The Succession, as extraneous thereto, is deriv'd from

from the Devolution of the Kings of *Scotland* to *Margaret's* Issue. And their Pretensions were from the Hereditary Line of the *West Saxons*, up to *Cerdic*; consequently King *James* the First was the true Saxon Heir to the Kingdom of *England*. Therefore *Henry* the Second succeeded as true Heir to a perverted Constitution; and tho' a *Saxon*, he govern'd it by the *Norman* Plan.

William the Conqueror, and his Son, us'd the Kingdom absolutely as their Property. They would not even submit to the Saxon Disposition, nor Custom of devolving of the Crown; therefore *Robert*, as well as *Edgar*, was set aside.

The Scope of this Essay is to shew, that our Succession is not determin'd by that Conquest; because it was a standing, apparent, undestroy'd Claim, before, and after the same. The Tenures of our Lands might easily be changed, by rooting out the Proprietors, removing all the Marks, from the true Owners: But this would not take with the Succession; because *Edgar* the Monument thereof was alive; and the immemorial Custom was as notorious as the Shining of the Sun at Noon-day.

They, who would therefore impose States independent of the Kings, upon our Kingdom, must give them an hearty Dose of Opium to the Reign of King *Charles* I. Then indeed Pieces of Parliaments began to crow: And to
this

this Day we are told, these Parts have not only the Elective Power in their hands, but a Coercive Power over the King himself; tho' I desire to know, by what Law the People are restrain'd to a certain Number of Representatives? Whether they can alter the Number, or shorten, or anticipate the Sessions of their own Representatives?

An Answer to this will confound all the Republicanism in *England*, and puzzle some Great Men.

I conclude, that the Reader may expect from me no Hypotheses not supported by Facts: Let him go to *Noah's Ark* for Original Contracts; I can shew him binding ones of a more modern Date.

I shall take all their Cant-Words out of their Mouths, viz. Laws, Liberties, &c. and by the Laws I will be judg'd, and by the English Constitution I will stand or fall. And as for Liberty, I will be as zealous for it as an old *Roman*. Still I have known very zealous Advocates for Liberty betray their Country with a Kiss. Such Men are my Aversion.

I define Liberty, to be a State of Defence against Oppression: I confine it within the Circle of our known Laws. If we go beyond them, to Original Contracts, and to State of Nature Schemes, we may argue for *Utopia*, we don't talk like *Englishmen*.

If

If King *Charles* the First had quietly seiz'd the impeach'd Demagogues of the House of Commons, and try'd them at Common Law for High Treason, that Touchstone would have shrunk the States into more narrow Bounds ; the Jury would have had no Charges from the Judges, in respect to the Original Contract ; nor would the Court have allow'd a time for the Subjects to take up their Rights of Nature, and to rebel : Because nothing in our Common Law could then mince the Treason of inviting or supporting the *Scots* or *French* to invade this Kingdom.

Therefore in the pursuit of this Controversy I will not pass one jot beyond our real *English* Constitution, nor beyond the Plan I have laid down. At the time of the Conquest we were under the Power, tho' not the Right, of Slavery. Liberty has grown up since ; it was a young and tender Plant before the *Stuarts* came ; and under them, it afforded to *England* all the Felicities of *Augustus's* Reign.

It is to me surprising, that Republicans, who pretend so much to Liberty, will not shew it by one Transaction, when they are in power. I have watch'd narrowly the Steps of that sort of Men ; their *Feet are as swift to shed blood*, as the most Wicked in *David's* Days were. They are so far from being nice in regard to the *English* Constitution, they never let it stand in their way, when they have any Views to promote:

mote: Is it a little thing to raise a Rebellion against Prerogative, and to defeat a whole Family of their Rights; as they did in the Reign of *Charles* the First; because they either lov'd Power, or favour'd another Plan of Government, different from the old establish'd one? Can publick Liberty be founded upon Injustice? Must that angry Deity be appeas'd with human Sacrifices, with tender Infants, and an innocent starving Posterity? Such would have been the Consequences of Injustice drawn out to many Ages, if *K. Charles II.* had not return'd, like *the Sun of Righteousness, with healing in his Wings.*

I conclude, with one Observation more, That no Violence offer'd to the English Constitution either in the Saxon times, or to the Reign of *Henry VII.* ever brought Peace or Happiness to us. But as there is no room here to enlarge upon Particulars, I shall remit the Reader to a more favourable Season. I bid him Farewel.

I DE 60

F I N I S.

